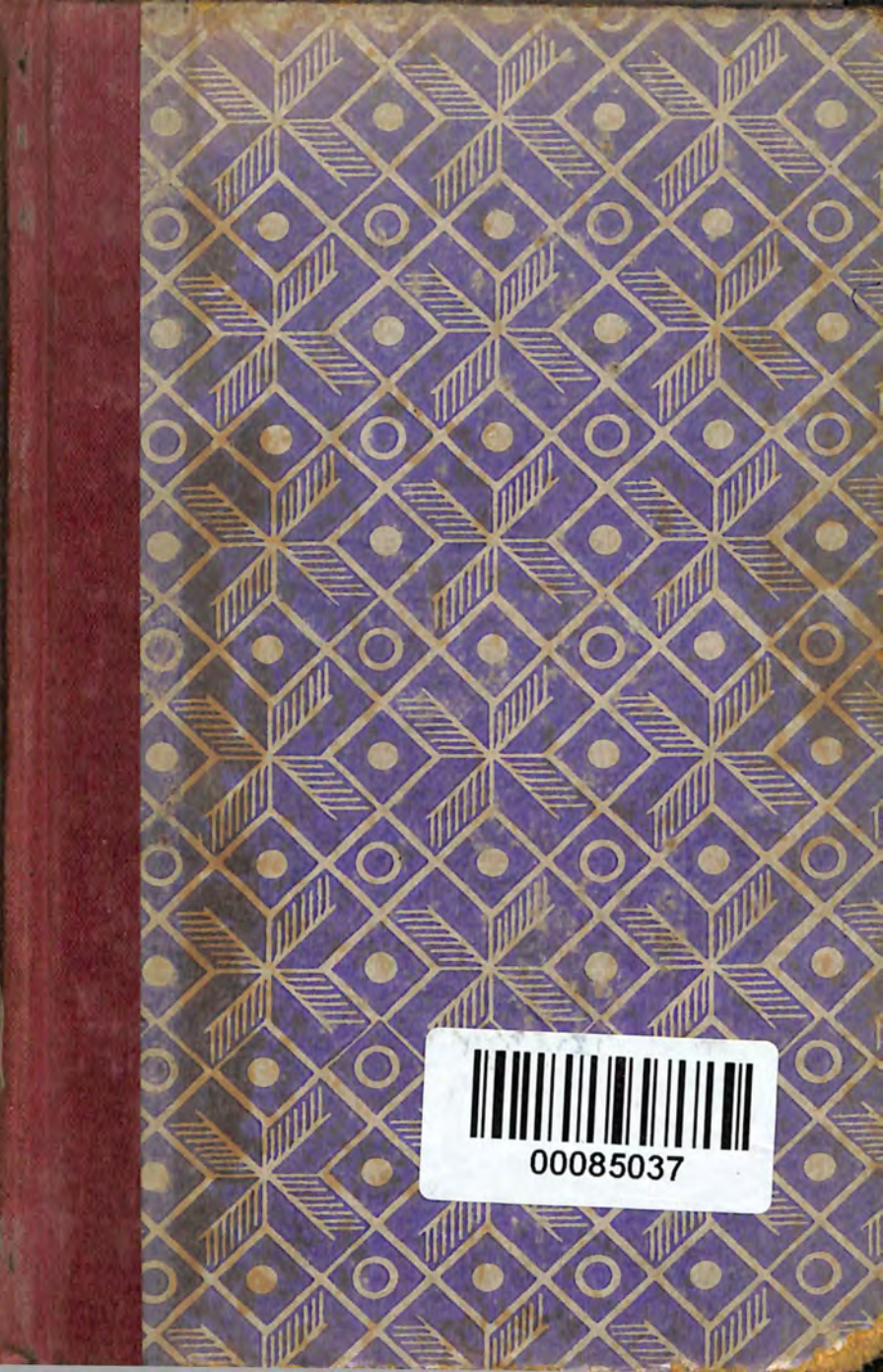
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ITALY

AND

THE ITALIANS.

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BY

FREDERIC VON RAUMER,

AUTHOR OF

"ENGLAND IN 1835," "ILLUSTRATIONS OF HISTORY," &c.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages contain nothing like a complete account of the country visited; they merely touch upon certain subjects, to which attention has been hitherto but little directed. My communications, therefore, are merely an appendix to more detailed accounts, and even within their own sphere do not pretend to approach completeness. On the other hand, through the favour of individuals in authority, and through the friendly co-operation of many well-informed men (ambassadors, public functionaries, scholars, &c.) I have collected, within a short period, more remarkable and authentic facts than it would have been possible to do under less favourable circumstances.

Some of my friends thought it advisable that I should relieve the serious character of my commu-

nications, and give more variety and lightness to the whole, by introducing parts of my private letters. In complying with these suggestions, however, I have omitted every thing personal, and that related to marks of attention shown to myself. In doing this, I have not been actuated by ingratitude, but by a wish to avoid repetition; for countless were the occasions on which it would have been my duty to praise the kindness and obliging conduct which I every where experienced. For the occasional want of connection to which these omissions have unavoidably led, and for the errors of which, in spite of all my diligence, I may sometimes have been guilty, I must entreat the pardon of my readers.

Those who wish to read only the one or the other half of my little work, will easily be able to ascertain from the contents, and from the headings of the letters, what they deem most likely to interest them, and they can skip what they think will prove less attractive.

BERLIN,
1st of January, 1840.

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LETTER I.

Journey from Dresden to Vienna—Don Carlos—Prince Metternich—Mendelssohn's Paul—Norma—Vienna and Berlin—Journey by way of Grätz to Trieste.

Vienna, March 13, 1839.

On Saturday, the 9th of March, at eleven in the forenoon, I left Dresden for Prague, the sun shining beautifully, and apparently announcing the approach of spring. The pine-trees lightly powdered with snow, and the more heavily laden firs, contributed to form a beautiful winter landscape. Thick rows of icicles a yard long, which fringed the thatched roofs, and the snow, drifted in many places to the height of the house-tops, I willingly accepted as accessories to the said winter landscape; and on my arrival at Teplitz, at eight in the

evening, I ate a moderate supper, and found myself in tolerable spirits for the night that was coming on. I was to enjoy the interior of the diligence without a rival. This, as far as elbow-room was concerned, had its advantages; but the cold was momentarily increasing, and I had to endure more from it that night than on any former occasion during my whole life. Shirts, jackets, great-coat, furs, and mackintosh, one over the other, afforded no sufficient protection; neither did stockings, boots, galoshes, nor foot-bag. On my arrival at Prague, I crept into bed for a few hours; but I had been so thoroughly chilled, that I scarcely found it possible to get any warmth into myself again. The next day there was only one place vacant in the open cabriolet, which I declined from motives that appeared to me quite sufficient. To remain longer in Prague, however, coincided the less with my other plans, as the weather continued to be exceedingly disagreeable. Accordingly, after a stay of six hours at Prague, I was again wedged into a supplementary conveyance, along with two Mesdames von ——. I soon found out, however, that the nobility was merely Vienna imitation, or rather ancient Hebrew. They were two merchants' wives, neither of them handsome, and one as broad as she was long, and mother of ten children. I consoled myself with the reflexion that they were warm-blooded animals,

and well furred; nevertheless, I had to endure much before I reached Vienna.

From the afternoon of Sunday, till the forenoon of Tuesday, I saw nothing but boundless fields of dazzling snow, overhung by a grey sky. Our fare was every where bad; and, as neither the windows nor the doors of our vehicle could be prevailed upon to close, the wind was piping in upon us all the while, as from the mouth of a bellows; so that with all our mutual accommodation of furs, &c., we were frozen to our heart's content. As far as Vienna, therefore, my journey is not calculated to awaken envy, unless it be on account of the flaming red of my face, my usual companion when travelling, and which I am now endeavouring to coax away with *crême de Perse.* Amid all these hardships, however, my good spirits never deserted me, and my two companions were talkative enough about dress, fashion, their genteel customers, their domestic chagrin, and the talents of their children, particularly one son, Levi by name, whom they described as a musical prodigy. Frozen as I was, it was not without a painful feeling of interest, that I heard this mother relate to me how another of her children had been poisoned by coloured sweetmeats.

Should I endure the fiery ordeal in Italy, as well as I have here gone through that of frost, I shall congratulate myself on my good fortune. The

greatest danger I have yet been exposed to, was during the last night of our journey, and was owing to my round little travelling companion. Her legs not reaching to the floor of the carriage, she generally sought a *point d'appui* against the opposite seat. On this occasion she lifted her legs a little higher than she had intended, and planted them firmly against my breast; so firmly indeed, that I was obliged to get the better of my politeness, and call her attention to the real state of affairs.

At Peterswalde the searching of our baggage occupied little time; but at Vienna, the official investigator had no mercy upon my portmanteau, unfolding the most trifling article of its contents, not even sparing a false tooth that I carried with me as a precautionary reserve. This exposure of my defect took place only in the presence of our gaping postillion, still I deemed myself justified in avenging the insult by withholding the intended fee of a *zwanziger*.

At Vienna, I put up at the City of Frankfort hotel, which appears to merit the praise I have so often heard bestowed on it. Room, bed, and dinner, excellent. Besides, it is to this hotel that I am indebted for all the new learning I have collected on this journey; I now know what *fleckerlsuppe* is; I now know that roast beef and maccaroni go very well together; and that the *hucher* is a fish

caught in the Danube, and is eaten with oil and vinegar.

Thursday, March 14.

I have at times thought myself tolerably industrious, and so you professed to think me; but the *Wiener Zeitung* of yesterday convinces me that I must be a mere snail or tortoise, compared with the Cesarewicz, the hereditary Grand Duke of Russia. In one forenoon he contrived to inspect the collection of antiquities, the cabinet of medals, the museum of natural history, the library, St. Stephen's Church, St. Augustine's Church, besides various charitable institutions; nay, so completely did he master all these things, that nothing remained for him to do, so that he was able to set off again that evening.

In the evening I went to the *Burg Theater*, and saw three acts of Don Carlos. Independently of the notorious fact that all is *fiction* in this *historical* drama, the poetical incidents appear to me unnatural, incredible, impossible. For instance, the fabulous etiquette, along with gross violations of decorum; the extreme reserve of the king, along with the inconsiderate talkativeness of his anxiety about the prince, and that in presence of his whole court; the private lecture of the impracticable Posa; the rendezvous with Eboli, &c. How such

characters ought to be represented on the stage, it is difficult to say. Fichtner, in Carlos, did what he could to preserve a consistency in the personation, by uniting the *disjecta membra poetæ*. Korn, in Posa, an experienced actor, with a harsh unmusical voice. Reichel played the Queen, in a manner superior to the customary way of spouting the part. Fournier, in the Princess Eboli, fluent, and without the little artifices that have frequently been censured; but no actress can entirely remove the natural doubts to which the character gives rise. Does Eboli really love the Prince? Is she merely a coquette, or is she trying whether she can make the best bargain with the father or the son?

Friday, March 15.

I yesterday went first to M. Burger, author of the highly instructive Journey through Upper Italy. We conversed much together of agriculture, farm-leases, state of the peasantry, &c.

At twelve o'clock I was with Prince Metternich. This interview was the main object of my journey to Vienna. After all the warnings and advice I had received, in direct opposition to which I was fully determined to act, I might naturally have felt some uneasiness. Convinced, however, that I had to do with a really great statesman, I knew that the open straightforward course was the best. In re-

ply, therefore, to the prince's first question, I informed him without reserve of the real objects of my proposed journey.

My audience lasted for an hour and a half. I spoke as little as possible myself, while the prince discoursed away with the openness, clearness, practical good sense, and total absence of empty abstractions, which characterize the superior statesman—a style as opposite as possible to the finesse, ambiguity, and mendacity of T—— and his sophisticated school.

The prince asked me more than once, whether I was not of his way of thinking? It could to him have been of very little importance whether I were or not; but to me, I own, it afforded much gratification to find, that all the positions which I had vainly endeavoured to enforce at Berlin, on the subject of our ecclesiastical difficulties, were now confirmed, on every material point, by the first statesman of Europe.

Sunday, March 17.

On Friday, I received visits from Mr. B. and Mr. W. With the former I resumed my conversation on the topics already mentioned, which gradually led us to the theologico-matrimonial question. He observed that the Austrian, in imitation of the Prussian clergy, were beginning to put forward

claims, and to lay down principles, that overstepped the letter of the law, though in many places sanctioned by custom. Upon the whole, he said, the protestant clergy here had much more influence in private families, were more active, and more strict in their general conduct, than the catholic ecclesiastics. (The customary position of dissenters, with respect to the dominant church.) Conversions *from* protestantism, it appears, are of rare occurrence, except from worldly motives; on the other hand, conversions *to* protestantism are chiefly confined to the peasantry, who sometimes take offence at the disorderly life led by their priests.

In the evening, at Kronser Fournier's, I made the acquaintance of Mesdames Schröder and Weissenthurn, both intelligent and interesting women. There was, of course, no lack of green-room anecdotes. Accept the following as a sample. Böttiger, sitting at table opposite to Madame H., took a rose from a basket of flowers, and said: "This delicate plant is an emblem of our fair and gifted friend." At that moment, nearly all the leaves of the rose dropped from the stalk.—Madame Händel Schütz had just been playing Maria Stuart, and complained to Schröder of exhaustion. "The poetry of the piece," observed the latter, "is certainly calculated to excite one's feelings very strongly." "Oh," replied Schütz, "it is not the words

that have fatigued me; but I was obliged to remain, throughout that long scene, fixed in the attitude in which Vandyke has painted the Queen."

Yesterday morning the thermometer stood at 9° below zero of Reaumur, (12° Fahrenheit), and the wind blew a hurricane. To-day the cold is less intense, but everything is white with snow. Some people maintain, that to travel to Trieste, at present, is to expose one's life to imminent peril; on the other hand, all are agreed that the most convenient, safe, and expeditious plan, is to go with the post-office courier; that it is preferable even to travelling in one's own carriage with post-horses. I recollect, on the day of the dreaded equinox, I made the passage from Rotterdam to London, and found the sea as smooth as a mirror; on the present occasion, perhaps, I may be similarly favoured, and frost and storm may pass away, out of compliment to me. Be this as it may, I shall not allow myself to be frightened; and you, I know, are, Heaven be praised, no timid creatures, or I should hardly venture to repeat to you lamentations and predictions of this kind.

Monday, March 18.

Yesterday was a musical day. From half-past twelve till about three, Mendelssohn's Paul was performed in the *Redoutensaal*, which was lighted

up for the occasion. For the sake of brevity all the chorals were omitted. For my part, had I been obliged to shorten the piece, I would rather have left out a part here and there, than have lopped away a main limb, an entire branch of the composition. In every other respect, the performance was deserving of praise; the large building was completely full, and the audience appeared to be delighted with their entertainment. M. Krause sang the bass with a fine dignified voice, and Mademoiselle Tuczek gave her whole part, but more particularly the Jerusalem, with a voice that went at once to the heart. The choruses also were deserving of praise. The counter-tenor was as full as it always ought to be, but seldom is; and in the treble, the higher notes (G and A) came out with softness and purity, whereas with us they are often forced or screamed out. Is this owing to a defect in our school, or to a defect in the throats of our singers?

In the evening, at the Kärnthnerthor Theatre, the play was Norma. Wild is now a mere ruin, and keeps up only by dint of great efforts. Standigel's is an excellent bass voice. Madame Lutzer has more power than Madame Löwe, but less elegance and action. The composition itself I look upon as even worse than many other of Bellini's pieces. This mamma of a vestal is a

paltry made-up thing in comparison with Spontini's enduring work of art. This gurgling, jumping up and down, and chromatic running about; this outrageous screaming, and suppressed whispering; and that without distinction, whether love, complaint, hate, fury, or prayer have to be expressed; all this to me is the *non plus ultra* of anti-music and of the undramatical; a beggarly, tawdry, patchwork finery!

In Vienna, where genius of the first order, where men like Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, may be said to have discovered a new world of music; where talent like that of Salieri, Winter, and even the cheerful Wenzel Müller, cultivated more familiar fields; even there nothing but mere sing-song now holds sway, or at best the spurious coin passes current and uncensured by the side of that of intrinsic value.

I have not had leisure this time to see the curiosities and the collections of art, but Vienna itself has made upon me the same impression as formerly. Berlin, in comparison, appears as a mere upstart, that has built himself a smart house, and has fitted it up showily. Here every thing seems to rest on a sounder foundation; the state is larger, the land more productive, the wealth far surpasses that of Prussia, and stands second only to that of England. We brag a great deal about one thing, our wit, be-

cause we feel that without it we should be nothing: There are those, however, who presume to question whether this article really abounds more in Berlin than in Vienna. Besides, have not many of those who announce themselves as guardians of the Prussian Zion done much of late years to check, cripple, clip, intimidate, and neutralize it?

Tuesday, March 19.

Even among the learned we meet with strange approximations of learning and ignorance. At Count St. Aulaire's I met a Frenchman, who had Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople at his finger's ends, and yet fancied that the nearest way from Berlin to England was by the way of Stettin, and through the Baltic!

Trieste, March 23.

"A man should always be prepared for the worst," is an excellent proverb, and such I have found it. To begin. The post-carriage (Briefeilwagen) did not indeed close hermetically; still it was incomparably better and more convenient than those in which I had been put to the torture between Dresden and Vienna. Moreover, in the front seat, calculated for two, there was Mr. D., a merchant, besides myself, so that we had room enough to stretch our legs; and then no time was lost, for

the horses went as fast as circumstances allowed. It was these very circumstances, however, that darkened the whole picture. On starting from Vienna we found the roads bad, and as we approached the Sömmering the frost had changed every thing into snow and ice, and these bore us faithful company till we were close to Trieste. Indeed, since leaving Berlin, from the first to the 22nd of March, I have not been a day without the full enjoyment of winter; we are now going through a course of rain, and then comes the broiling.

As for the whole road from Vienna to this town, it is the least beautiful and interesting of any that I am acquainted with. Even that by Klagenfurt is to be preferred, and that over the Brenner still more so, but all those further to the west are infinitely superior. And yet I could not help choosing it, for it was the only one that I did not know, and that was passable at this season of the year; because it was necessary that I should see Prince Metternich, and some other persons in Vienna, and I was desirous also of becoming acquainted with Trieste. Any one not actuated by similar motives would be wrong to choose Vienna and Grätz for his route to Italy.

On Wednesday the 20th, we had beautiful weather; the sun shone with such splendour upon the ice and snow, that my blue spectacles proved ex-

tremely serviceable. We arrived in the evening at Grätz, which lies in a spacious plain, and looks quite imposing with its castle. The handsomest object, however, that *I* saw there, was the maid who waited on us at the inn; to enter into conversation with her was a matter of some difficulty; not so much on account of the difference between our ages, as of the much greater difference between her German and mine.

From Laybach to Sessana we had snow, and then followed heavy rain. Passing over the stony desert so often described, I reached Optschina, and, though heaven and earth wore but a lugubrious aspect, I was delighted to look down again upon Italy and the Adriatic. The firmly constructed road that wound down along the mountains presented the most varied points of view. Of spring there was no trace, if I except the appearance of grass, and the blossoms of the apricot trees. My room in the Locanda Grande has a view over the harbour and the sea, and well pleased I am to have got into port again. If those who envy me had been as handsomely jolted and kept awake as I have been, during three days and three nights, to say nothing of the inclemency of the weather, I believe most of them would feel inclined to turn back and join Nikolai's party.

LETTER II.

Reception at Trieste.

Trieste, March 25.

From Berlin to Trieste my journey has been none of the most pleasant, but here my real task may be said to begin; and if I may judge of all Italy by Trieste, it is impossible to hope for a better reception. Consuls and merchants, men of business and men of learning, nay, even ladies, are emulous to do every thing in their power to make my stay agreeable. I hear, see, and learn more in an hour, than a stranger relying on hotel-keepers and ciceroni would be able to do during a prolonged residence. My inquiries relative to Trieste have already brought me in such a rich harvest, that I feel I must digest the matter, and compare my notes with those I shall make on Venice, before I shall be able to reduce the whole into any form.

In the new town, and the greater part of it is new, the streets are straight, sufficiently spacious, and extremely well paved. Yesterday was Palm-Sunday, and crowds of country people were parading about, with olive branches and portogalli. The men were mostly in warm caps and brown coats. In the costume of the women I saw nothing to

remark, unless it be their extremely high-quartered shoes, covering nearly the whole instep, (probably a protection on the stony roads) and a white kerchief thrown over the head, and falling down behind.

LETTER III.

View of Venice—Venice—St. Mark's—Pieta—Archives—Celebration of Easter—Music.

Venice, March 28.

On Tuesday the 26th, at eleven in the evening, the steamer started with favourable weather from Trieste. After a sound sleep, undisturbed by sickness, I was on deck at daybreak, and saw the sun rising from the sea, and making Venice glorious with his beams.

Three times already, and now for the fourth time, Venice has made a mighty, an irresistible impression upon me; one that baffles comparison. The objects that present themselves, and the thoughts and feelings that they excite, are different here to what they are in any other place in the world. Heaven and earth, life and death, the tasteful and the tasteless, the past, the present, and the future, meet here in a way peculiar to the place. Much is *out* of all rule, much *contrary* to all rule,

but then there is so much that is *beyond* all rule. When the stranger coming from the Lido sees the Palace of the Doge, the columns, the Piazzetta, the Campanile, the Orologio, and St. Mark's, with the many other marvels rising from the sea; who is there, that, in such a moment of joy, surprise, and enthusiasm, can descend to criticise columns and the position of windows? For my own part, at least, thank Heaven! I am no such stockfish; as little now, as twenty-two years ago.

On landing, I was forced to provide for the usual exigencies of a traveller; and, carefully avoiding the more expensive hotels, I repaired to the Luna, recommended to me by those whose means coincided with my own. I demanded, what in Venice bears a double signification, a light room, even though it might be high up on its way towards heaven. I was shown such a one; but so low that a person of the height of our nephew, even without the amplification of the military head-dress, could not have moved about otherwise than on his knees. I therefore lowered myself in order to heighten the room. The next that was shown me proved in every way unobjectionable. It was clean and suitably furnished, with a view over the Governor's garden, the only one within the city; and from the window the sun might be seen every morning rising from the sea. I was in no way surprised to hear the

landlord declare that this room would be a dear one; and, in spite of my enthusiasm, I was resolving to act with resolution, and stand out for an abatement. But when the man demanded only about two-thirds of a florin per day, all my hostile intentions evaporated, and I briefly and sincerely replied that I was satisfied.

Guided by a valet-de-place through the labyrinth of the city, I have been sowing a multitude of letters of recommendation, and hope to see them yield me an abundant harvest.

Friday, March 29.

I detain my letter, as you have had news of me from Trieste, and my matter for report may prove meagre, unless I write about things that are known to every body. Yet why pedantically forbear from all mention of these, when impressions and ideas come crowding upon the mind? St. Mark's church, for instance, reminds one certainly of St. Sophia's, at Constantinople, but, on the other hand, has so much that is original, contains so many peculiar works of art, and is erected amid so many extraordinary surrounding objects, that, after all the books already written about it, abundant materials may be found for as many more. Less imposing than St. Peter's, less solemn than the cathedral of Milan, St. Mark's may, nevertheless, say *anch' io*

son chiesa! and will go unconquered, nay, in some respects unequalled, from the conflict. Yesterday evening I saw the church lighted up, and beheld in reality what is seldom seen, except as a theatrical decoration. On the one side, the pomp, solemnity, and festivity of Catholicism, together with its outward evidences of faith, impress the mind strongly, but on the other side, I was disturbed, as I have often been before, by the chattering, the running to and fro, I may almost say the bawling, of the clergy. More purely sounded the choir as it struck in at intervals. A handsome well-dressed girl knelt before a small picture of a saint, that was preserved under a glass case. I was about, in spite of all my protestantism, to commend, nay, to envy her zeal and faith; but when I saw her spit upon her handkerchief, and wipe the glass, preparatory to kissing it, the whole Fata Morgana, I must own, vanished in a moment.

Thence I went to the Pietà, where, according to custom, I heard some very mediocre compositions sung in a very mediocre manner. The old custom of beating time loud enough to be heard throughout the whole church is still persevered in; and yet the first singer and her followers were seldom together. I hastened into the open air, where heaven and earth were executing more harmonious melodies. The sun had sunk in purple magnificence behind Santa

Maria della Salute, and the Canale Grande reflected more darkly and soberly the picture presented by the sky. In the east, the moon with her pale coronet of beams was just rising above Lido, while, by her side, Jupiter was glowing in all his brightness, and immediately over the Campanile, Venus was moving along at a measured pace. When I turned from this glorious spectacle above me, to look upon the ragged, screaming, wrangling, crowd that moved around, a feeling of humiliation came over me.

Saturday, March 30.

St. Mark's and the Piazzetta are the paradise of Venice; and then follows, on almost every side, the purgatory, and that in a medicinal, much more than in a theological, sense. From the paradise, at least, the Austrians have succeeded in expelling Italian filth.

I will not fatigue you with the names of those whom I have visited, or who have visited me. I have learned something from both, and expect to learn more. The Easter holidays, in the meantime, have somewhat interfered with my investigations.

The evening before last, I was agreeably entertained in the family circle of Mr. T——, where I had again an opportunity of convincing myself that there are German as well as Italian dialects, which

are unintelligible to me. Yet I am a *homo doctissimus* in comparison with some travellers whom I meet with. I saw a German here the other day, who knew very little French and no Italian!

The body fares worse here than the mind. I was directed to a *trattoria*, as of superior excellence, where I found the cooking so wretched that I could taste but little, and that little made me sick. In the Europa I was rather better off, but even that was nothing to boast of. To-day our bill of fare consisted of *soupe maigre*, flavoured with cheese; dried fish, something like smelts; sinewy beef, with turnips; boiled mutton of a stony hardness, garnished with sour potatoes, &c.: a plate of roast beef would have been ten times more welcome to me than the whole succession of ill-conceived, ill-arranged, and ill-dressed dishes; and for a mess of good broth, I would have cheerfully parted with my whole birthright of fame. The said fame, by the by, flickered up, I fear, for the last time at Trieste, like the light of an expiring candle. More than once I have had my attention called to the fact, that I am the oldest and grayest of all the travellers around me; and everybody seems to wonder why I did not remain quietly and contentedly at home. When I tell them I wish to inform myself respecting civic institutions, excise on meat, street police, mendicity, infant schools, &c.,

the rejoinder is on every lip, whether I might not have learned these things at home. My wish to examine the archives of Venice appears to be regarded as a more plausible excuse. Yesterday I saw this collection for the first time. It is a collection arranged in a countless succession of rooms and halls, and so voluminous that millions of worms may feed on it for centuries to come, and a thousand literary gluttons would be unable to read it through in a thousand years. There was a time when such a spectacle would have made me grieve over the limited nature of human powers; but I have grown bolder, and now, in presence of all this paper wisdom, I rather grieve over human folly. The arrangement, upon the whole, appears to be excellent; but the contents, and the value of each individual part, remain a *terra incognita*, never likely to be explored by the few literary navigators appointed to the service. The masses will probably remain for a long time in a state of profitless neglect, till accident, or some disciple of Caliph Omar, destroys the whole. The nibbling here and there of a few Berlin professors is hardly worth mentioning. If the contents were really all matter of history, and it were decreed that a *Professor Historiarum* must be acquainted with them all, I should have a right to claim as long a lease of life as that of the wandering Jew. Only four volumes, however, fall within the period of my Hohenstau-

fen, and a great part of their contents has already been printed. I hope that I shall be able to find time for a closer inspection.

Sunday, March 31.

The music at St. Mark's, to-day, this being Easter Sunday, was executed partly by professional musicians, and went off better than on my previous visits, when theology had to supply its place. For the first time, owing to the immense numbers assembled, I was seriously annoyed by the fumes of garlic, which could not by any means be brought to harmonize with the incense.

In the afternoon, I went to the public garden. No gentry, but an immense crowd. I saw nothing remarkable, unless it be the singular costume of the female water-carriers. Some of the young girls were pretty and *piquant*, but I saw no distinguished beauty among them. Neither music, nor eating, nor drinking, nor dancing, but abundance of screaming. The Venetian dialect in all its glory; soft, so far, at least, that *ce* and *ci* are pronounced *se* and *si*, but unmelodious, on account of the swallowing and clipping of so many syllables and vowels. It bears to the Roman-Florentine the same relation that Portuguese does to Spanish. There may be a little pedantry in Florence, but it is fortunate, nevertheless, that Italian is not broken up into a multitude of different dialects, all enjoying

equal rights; it is well that there should be one *altioris indaginis*, to retain the literary supremacy.

In the evening, having wrapped myself well up in furs, I went in a gondola to the Giudeca, and returned by the Canale Grande. Some of the buildings along the latter have been cleaned up, and wear a habitable look; but what are these compared with the many, for the maintenance of which the means are wanting! There was a time when palaces rose from the sea as if by magic; when they were adorned by countless works of art, and made brilliant by costly entertainments; and now, it is matter to be noticed, if a few broken windows are mended, or if an invalid door be replaced upon its hinges. A thousand causes are assigned for this; the chief, according to many, is the laziness of the population; and is not idleness the origin of every vice, and thus the first cause of poverty?

LETTER IV.

Tombola—Procession—Democracy of 1797—Churches—Pictures—Ateneo—Dante.

Venice, April 1.

This day month I left Berlin. How much of agreeable and disagreeable have I not experienced since then, and yet I am but on the threshold of

Italy! Of this fact I was reminded this morning by my thermometer, which stood at only nine degrees above zero, (52° Fahrenheit,) in my room, and at 4½ (42° F.) in the open air. My open fire occasions more draught than it dispenses warmth; my furs, therefore, have generally to supply the absence of a stove, and, thus fortified, I patiently await the later hours of the day. The Italians, it appears to me, are able to endure more heat and cold than we of the North. Yesterday evening, for instance, at the Casino, where I was introduced by Mr. T——, not a single room had a fire in it, though it was so cold that in Germany there would have been a general outcry. About nine hundred ladies and gentlemen were assembled at the game of Lotto, around the *tombola*. Of this game, I hear, they are passionately fond. Each person buys a tablet, marked with fifteen numbers, between one and ninety. The player, whose fifteen numbers are first drawn, receives a sum of money as a prize, (yesterday, about 40 florins;) and the two following prizes consist of articles likely to be serviceable to ladies. At half past ten the drawing began, and by far the greater part of the ninety numbers had been drawn before any one of the players had covered the fifteen squares. In about an hour the last prize had been won and lost; for, of course, all lost, with the exception of three, and the emotions

excited by the game developed themselves, when many covered twelve, thirteen, or even fourteen of their numbers, and yet in the end went empty-handed away.

Of beauties, such as the old Venetian school presents to us, nothing was to be seen. The race, I was told by one, is completely extinct. Yet, at Bruges, at Florence, and at Rome, faces and forms, like those immortalized in their respective schools, may yet be seen walking about in the streets.

Wednesday, April 3.

The holidays, which brought nothing very remarkable with them, except that they interrupted the general course of business, are now over, and shops, collections, libraries, and private parties are again open. A votive procession of marines on Sunday displayed a singular mixture of military and religious exercises. When the host came by, I took off my hat, like the rest, without hesitation; but I did feel some hesitation as to whether I ought to look upon the doctrine of transubstantiation as a profound mystery of faith, or as the extreme of absurdity to which bigotry can go. Lord help my unbelief!

I am now studying most diligently the Lombardy code; and, among other important matters, I have there found that the Homœopathy of *Dr. Nahremann* (sic) is prohibited, and that children are not to read the *Conversations-Lexikon*, nor to be guilty of cer-

tain dirty tricks. These ordinances, however, are mere dead letter; the former, that respecting Hahnemann, has been revoked, and the latter is daily set at defiance by young and old.

Friday, April 5.

Wherever I come, Count S——, upon the strength of Prince M—'s recommendation, has prepared the way for me, so that I every where meet with the most obliging reception. Such was yesterday the case at the Archives. Respecting the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there exist only two or three volumes, which I was able to look through in a few hours. Considering the shortness of the time, however, I collected a very tolerable harvest. I found a treaty concluded between the Venetians and Manfred, in which I recognized all the principles of the English navigation laws; a treaty between Gregory IX. and Venice, having for its object a war against, and a partition of, the Sicilian dominions; and lastly, a deed of Conradin's, by which he recognizes Manfred as guardian and sovereign of Apulia. Thus was I transported from the present back to the time of my Hohenstaufens.

On all sides I hear complaints of the ruthless manner in which the treasures of art and literary antiquity were dealt with here in the days of French freedom. The soldiers quartered at San Giorgio, for instance, were in the constant habit of paying a

book for their passage across the Great Canal, which book was immediately carried by the gondolier to be sold as waste paper at the nearest chandler's shop.

I turned over the laws and ordinances of the democratic republic of Venice of the year 1797. What intoxication of hope, what unbounded delight, what extravagance of declamation! And how soon was this fool's paradise abandoned as a prey to robbery, plunder, free-quarters, forced contributions, the scorn of the French, and the grasping hand of Bonaparte! Yet the illusion was not dispelled; the man was still an object of admiration, and the *destinées* of Venice were not yet *accomplies*. A parody on the Creed, referring to the Directory, was printed on the 16th of April, 1797, and is sufficiently remarkable and characteristic of the times to serve as an excuse for my inserting it here.

Libertà Eguaglianza. Credo Republicano.

Credo nella Republica francese una e indivisibile, Creatrice dell' Ugualianza e della libertà.

Credo nel General Bonaparte, suo figlio unico, diffensore nostro, il quale fu conceputo da gran spirito, nacque da madre virtuosissima. Pati sopre monti e colli, fu da tiranni vilipeso e sepolto. Discese nel Piemonte, il terzo di risuscitò in Italia. Sali in Mantova, ed ora siede alla destra di Vienna, capitale dell' Austria. Di la hada venire a giudicare i violenti aristocrati.

Credo nello spirito della Generalità francese e del Direttorio di Parigi, la distruzzione de' nemici della virtù niuna remissione allà tirannia la risurrezione del diritto naturale dell' Uomo, la futura pace, libertà, eguaglianza, fratellanza eterna; cosi sia!

The day of this political fanaticism is not yet gone by. Do we not still meet with many, in whose eyes the intrigues and outrages of Paris pass for the highest point of *développement humain*, as the noblest pledge of genuine liberty? Admirably did Nothomb, at Brussels, speak the truth with respect to the relations of France to Belgium and Germany, showing what it is that causes the *ennui* of the French, without excepting even the maudlin, pious, impracticable Lamartine. That Villiers would fail in his attempt to procure the abolition of the corn-laws, I foretold to him repeatedly in my own room. That is not the way to set about it. I repeatedly maintained, in 1835, that the vote for members of Parliament, given to the farmers, had strengthened the landed aristocracy more than the destruction of the rotten boroughs had weakened them. This the veriest sceptics must now admit.

Sunday, April 7.

When I look back on the very different nature of my occupations on each of the four occasions on which I have visited Venice, I am forced to admit that I must myself have changed much more than the objects now around me. All that I now seek for with such eagerness occupied not one of my thoughts in 1816. At that time I ran after all those things that are usually deemed most attractive to

travellers. In the same way, however, in which I then quitted the prescribed limits, to investigate the *Past* among books, manuscripts, and the monuments of art, even so have I now extended them yet further, to make myself acquainted with the *Present*, on a more comprehensive scale. Without Prince Metternich, however, and his trusty spirits, my zeal and good-will would have carried me no great way; whereas, now, treasures come pouring in upon me from all sides, and from the purest sources. I am not now labouring with limited forces, but may look upon myself as a chief, who has numbers at his command; perhaps a more true and less arrogant simile would be, to liken myself to a student, to whom men better informed than himself are, on all sides, ready to afford assistance.

Many, I fear, will censure my present occupations as of an inferior order, and will maintain that I have myself deteriorated in becoming indifferent to the highest point of human development—the fine arts. Such, however, I have not become. I have again contemplated churches, statues, and pictures, with the liveliest interest, and could talk about them as long and as learnedly as those who feel them less, understand them as little, and have not seen as many; but when I daily find people talking nonsense about things on which I have expended much time and labour, and of which I believe I do under-

stand something, I feel apprehensive of allowing myself to be betrayed into similar mistakes. Waagen ought to be here, and then, as once in England, we would endeavour, by our united endeavours, to produce something. *Suum cuique.*

Nevertheless, I am not inclined to pass these things over altogether in silence. St. Mark's, with its poetic, rule-defying originality, must occupy the first place. St. Sophia rose from another soil, and *duo cum faciunt idem, non est idem.* San Paolo and San Giovanni are large and striking, but in their exterior do not preserve a happy medium between the different systems of architecture. We have pillars, for instance, with arches over them, and over those a wall, and the pillars connected by wooden beams with the inner and outer nave, and with the side columns. This wooden tackle is assuredly a defect. I do not like the broken façade of San Giorgio Maggiore. The sides are squeezed together without beauty or ornament. In the interior I recognize the cheerful style of St. Peter's, though of an inferior order. The dome of Maria della Salute is handsome, but much inferior to those of Florence and Rome. I find it difficult to reconcile myself to the huge volutes, intended to strengthen and support the dome. How much more beautiful are the means by which the same object is attained in Cologne and Milan.

The Academy of the Fine Arts.—I have been told of a superlative connoisseur, who is said to have ascertained that the distinctive characteristics of the Venetian school are harshness and ruggedness. I adhere to the old and more intelligible creed, that they are to be found in the colouring and the flesh. The drawings of Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Leonardo, show the unwearied industry of those masters. They did not imagine that beauty could be embodied on the canvass by a miracle; no, they made a succession of designs, placed a limb, or the fold of a drapery, sometimes in this position, sometimes in that, until gradually they came near to perfection, if they did not attain it. Genius is a gift of Heaven; but industry is one which every man may owe to himself. The rich and beautifully arranged collection of statues and casts has been enriched by the great London marbles. In comparison with these noble forms of Phidias, the Apollo and the small Venus from Naples appear like—but I pause, that I may not place myself upon the same line with Kotzebue.

The progress of the Arts, as of science and state-policy, is evident, and yet it is a mystery. How is it that the human mind, or how is it that a community of many human minds, after having attained with much labour to beauty, perfection, and taste, in the best sense of those words, can gradually wean

themselves from it, and find delight in ugliness, distortion, the nauseous, and the insipid? Thus, for instance, I am at a loss to account for the series of Venetian churches, descending, during a succession of centuries, from the rich and fanciful St. Mark's to the craziest tawdriness of embellishment, or to a naked bareness, that makes them fit for little else than stables and barns.

Do we not, in our own age, behold the same, if not in painting and architecture, at least in poetry and music? You will certainly not blame me for avoiding the infliction of hearing Donizetti's Emma di Vergy executed by a very mediocre company. It is a cup which I have already too often been obliged to swallow to the dregs.

I made a discovery a few days ago, which, if it could be taken as an omen applicable to my whole journey, ought to make me hurry home again, ashamed of having forgotten Göthe's proverb—*Das Gute liegt so nah*, &c. I had been wearying myself in searching all over the city for a place where I could get something tolerable to eat and drink. At last, in utter despair, I ordered a dinner at my own hotel, the *Luna*, and found it incomparably better than any I had been able to obtain elsewhere. Some German had told me the *cuisine* of the house was bad; and I, in my simplicity, forgot the old saying, "Try all things." The wine, to be sure,

continues *nostrano*, but the bill-of-fare will hold me fast, particularly as I can now dine at my own time. I have not, indeed, made any agreement, but I shall pay my bill without much grumbling; and, even should they overcharge me, I shall console myself with the reflection that I should have paid at least double in Berlin; and besides, may I not place my escape from a daily indigestion to the credit side of the account? Our friend H—— shall explain to us, one of these days, why, after good wine and a good dinner, even though composed of a variety of dishes, I feel well and in good spirits, whereas a single plate of bad food puts me out of tune. He will probably assign a multitude of physiological causes; but I look at the matter from a refined and moral point of view. Good taste is in itself meritorious, and meets with its reward; but bad food reduces a man nearer to the level of a beast, and is punished accordingly.

During the twelve days that I have now spent in Venice, there has been no change in the appearance of the garden under my window. The grass and plants, in consequence of storms and cold weather, look even worse than they did on my arrival. Every body pronounces the weather to be most extraordinary; but one meets so often and in so many places with extraordinary kinds of weather, that I have begun to think extraordinary weather only another term for disagreeable weather.

Tuesday, April 9.

I was yesterday introduced by Mr. Q—— at the Ateneo, a kind of Venetian academy. Professor Paravia, from Turin, read an interesting and well-written essay on Dante, and proved:—that Beatrice was not merely a creature of imagination, but a maiden with whose memory, particularly after her death, Dante associated much that was beautiful and allegorical. And why should she not appear to him as the picture and conception of all that was wise and good? The lecturer likewise proved that Dante, notwithstanding the severity of his character, and his imaginative fidelity, was in love at least three times in his life, and in support of this trio of all good things there appeared to be no lack of arguments. M. Paravia dwelt also on the difficulty of distinguishing Dante's genuine lyrics from the spurious ones that went under his name; but even the genuine ones, he maintained, would not place the poet more than on a level with many of the lyric writers of his own time. The *Commedia Divina* it was that first enabled Dante to step into a higher sphere, and to make it his own. We were next treated with the judgment of the Ateneo on the book of a Bologna physician, who had attributed the origin of the cholera to certain exceedingly minute animals. A few only of the judges declared themselves in favour of this *beastly theory;*

but the majority adhered to the belief in stench, filth, and other chemical agreeables of the same kind.

At eight this evening I shall start for Milan. I am not in the least at a loss what to do with my cloak, furs, and foot-bag. Even in my room I have them on, and shall retain them till my fire raises the thermometer above 8° (50° F.) Outside the window it is scarcely so high as 4° (41° F.). In Milan, they tell me, the cold is yet more severe; but I place great faith in the progressive advance of the almanac. At the infant school, the said almanac was very circumstantially explained the other day. All went well till the mistress asked one of the boys in what season of the year we were now. He answered stoutly:—"In winter." I entirely agreed with him.

LETTER V.

Italy in general—Extent of Trieste—Population—Woods —History of the City—French Domination—Return of the Austrians — Finances — Taxation — Clergy — Schools — Commerce—Exchange—Lloyd—Navigation—Commercial Treaties — Imports and Exports — Commercial Laws — Civic Institutions.

Venice, March 28.

You justly complain that, notwithstanding the endless number of books that have been written,

about it, we have still a very insufficient knowledge of Italy; but is it not quite natural that this should be the case, when most travellers only describe the first impression made upon them by the loudly abused or extravagantly admired country, of which they write rather as lyrists and satirists, than as historians? Hence, endless repetitions of well-known facts, obtained from the most worthless authorities. The majority of travellers, moreover, have to depend upon local guides and ciceroni: should it be in my power to communicate anything more instructive, the merit will not be mine, but will belong to those to whom I am indebted for such powerful recommendations, and to those who received me with such distinguished kindness, and manifested in their solicitude to afford me every possible information, so obliging a zeal that no words of mine can sufficiently express my gratitude. For the information I have obtained, I willingly acknowledge myself a debtor.

The elegiac exclamation, *Italy is a ruin!* with which so many close their accounts of the country, had long ago excited my doubts quite as much as my sympathy. You are aware that the wish to confirm or remove my foregone conclusion on this subject formed the chief inducement to my present journey, in the same way that a similar motive drove me formerly to England. Now, the different

portions of Italy vary so much from one another, with respect to soil, population, and public institutions, that it is impossible to expect the same results from all. I shall, therefore, have to speak, on different occasions, of improvement, of deterioration, and of a stationary condition. That the commencement may be at once easy and gratifying, and the improvement unquestionable, allow me to consider Trieste as belonging to Italy, and to place before you a few important facts relative to that remarkable town. My information has been obtained from the most authentic sources, and if you wish to enter more into details, I may refer you to Costa's work on the Free port of Trieste. It is a book to which I thankfully own myself much indebted; but since its publication there is much that deserves to be added; and, besides, different men have different ideas, and contemplate the same object from different points of view.

Whenever I enter the Austrian empire, I am reminded of the spirit of the middle ages. "Of something superannuated, accordingly, of something in itself wrong and absurd!" will be the exclamation of many. Have these censors, however, really taken the trouble to substitute judgment for prejudice, on the subject of ancient and modern times? Is an intricate organization a proof of inferiority in the domain either of nature or of the

human mind? Shall a worm, rank higher than a man, because of simpler anatomy and physiology, and because less marked by conflicting characteristics? To the political wisdom of modern France, no doubt, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, appeared so many abortions of disorder and absurdity. According to that school, the only principle of regeneration and improvement is to bring every time-honoured institution to the bed of Procrustes. All that was living, national, local, or provincial, disappeared before the iron hands that were covered with the gloves of liberty. There was to be but one head, nor were any distinctive functions assigned to the several limbs; one centralizing *capitale du monde*, regardless whether the world around sunk more and more into death or not. Many of the heroes of liberty, in our own day, know of no better principle; and if even Talleyrand were nothing but a cunning, though broken-down, pupil of the Roman Macchiavelli, the wisdom of many little beings that pretend to his inheritance is nothing but a flimsy scheme of the driest bureaucracy.

These remarks, which might easily be greatly extended, are not out of place here. The statesman, of whom I have already made mention more than once, acts upon principles diametrically opposite to those of the French school. He sees in the maintenance of local peculiarities the strength and

spirit of the Austrian empire, at the same time that he carefully removes all that is really morbid and obsolete. Only things that are *distinct* from one another can be *united.*

What Trieste was under French domination, compared with what it has become under the Austrian government, affords an instructive example by which to judge the two systems. Trieste and its dependent territory belong to the government of the maritime provinces, which, previously to a few recent changes that I cannot here stop to enter upon, contained 33 cities, 21 market towns, and 1806 villages. The area, according to the new *cadastre* (reckoning the *Joch* or yoke as equal to 1600 square *klafters*—fathoms) contains, of land under cultivation:—

	Joch.
In Trieste, (I only give round numbers),	15,000
In the circle of Görz	465,000
In Istria	811,000
	1,291,000
Add land not under cultivation	91,000
Total	1,382,000

	Florins.
The gross produce, according to the latest estimate, is calculated at	8,344,000
The net produce at	3,857,000

The average produce per Joch (fractions omitted) has been calculated——

Trieste, gross produce	19 fl.	net produce	7 fl.				
Istria	„	„	5	„	„	2	43 kr.
Görz	„	„	7	„	„	3	18

Hence the relative difficulties with which agriculture has to struggle may be estimated. Yet the population, per Austrian square mile of 10,000 square Joch, amounted, in 1827—

In the circle of Görz . . .	2414
And in Istria to	3545

or including Trieste, to about 420,000; a sufficient proof of the facility with which the means of living are obtained in the south, and of the importance of Trieste as a commercial city. The rent of land in Görz and Istria is estimated at about 8½ per cent. of the produce.

The territory of Trieste, properly speaking, includes an area of only one (German) square mile and six-tenths (about thirty-five English square miles); and, in spite of the magnificent views from the mountains and from the sea, the whole of the land would be of little value were it not for the town and its trade. If, therefore, land, in certain parts of the town, sells for 200 to 250 florins the square *klafter* (fathom), and on one occasion is known to have fetched the enormous price of seven hundred florins; and if the owners of houses are even then able to realize from six to seven per

cent. interest on their capital; this is owing to local circumstances, which, in their turn, are caused by the active industry of the population.

Yet I should be disposed to deny the general position, that nature has been so very niggardly of her favours to the country round Trieste. Any thing more barren, more dismal, more desolate, than the stony plains on the heights, can scarcely, I admit, be found in any part of Europe; and no storm-wind, certainly, can be more formidable than the notorious Bora. But, was it always so? Did the stones always project so far and in such wild disorder from the soil, that soil can hardly be said to exist? Could the Bora always range along, without let or hindrance, with its seven-league wings? I am almost tempted to answer these questions at once in the negative. The selfishness and improvidence of man, by destroying the ancient forests, deprived the land of its natural shelter. The rain then washed away the soil when wet, and the wind blew it away when dry. Thus it was that the stones rose farther and farther above the surface, and, the land stripped of its trees, not even grass and moss could long keep their ground. There are many other countries of Europe, not excepting several parts of Italy, that have made the same painful experience. M. Rossini has adduced historical proofs, to show that the heights of Trieste

were once covered with forest; in some places the trees still remain; and, wherever a handful of mould is to be found, there is no want either of trees or bushes. These, with care, might be made the nucleus of a new vegetation, provided the country were not abandoned to the cattle. Let the people of Trieste turn their attention to their hills, up which their country-seats are already ascending higher and higher. Restore the trees, and not only would the landscape be improved, and the land increased in value, but a check would be given to the furious impetuosity of the Bora.

The number of agriculturists cannot be large in the territory of Trieste; but what there are of them are mostly, like those of Istria, the owners of the land they cultivate. They would be wretchedly poor, owing to the barrenness of the soil, were it not that the town affords them such various means of adding to their income by working as masons, carriers, porters, &c.

From 949 till 1382 we find Trieste independent, though in feud with many of its neighbours. In 1382, the city placed itself voluntarily under the protection of Austria. Both parties believed that they should promote their own interests by the obligations which they mutually took upon them, and the conditions then agreed to have only been altered from time to time by common consent.

The constitution has much that reminds one of that of Venice.

In 1717, Trieste was declared a free port by Charles VI., and the ordinance of that year was farther extended by several laws promulgated under Maria Theresa. The power of the captain of the city was changed; and, the civic institutions yielding to those of the state, the whole assumed more and more of an Austrian character. Many privileges, however, remained in full force. Among these were—exemption from excise, from military service, and from having soldiers billeted in the town; a free importation, and a low tax on transit and exportation; some other judicial and commercial advantages; taxation by the city authorities only, and a limitation of the payment to the state to 16,000 florins annually.

On the 16th of May, 1809, the French entered Trieste, and left it again on the 8th of November, 1813. It is the more necessary to speak of the character and consequences of their domination, as so many people now-a-days, to show their sagacity and penetration, are, or pretend to be, dissatisfied with the present; and, in this mood, forgetting that all human institutions must naturally be imperfect, overlook altogether the dark sides of a former state of things. Acting upon the conviction, everywhere put forward, that there was only one right course,

and that this could be no other than that most recently sanctioned by France; the entrance of the French into Trieste was immediately followed by the abolition of all ancient laws, treaties, and institutions, and every thing was thenceforward to be regulated in the true Napoleon spirit of despotism. A poll-tax was introduced, without being divided into classes; this was accompanied by land-tax, customs, excise, stamps, office-fees, conscription, and the billeting of soldiers. The freedom of the port was exchanged for the continental system; merchandize was seized and burnt; prices fell; and forced loans, war-taxes, and the arrest of merchants, became the order of the day. The consequence of all this was, that sixty-one mercantile houses stopped payment between 1809 and 1811; the number of ships belonging to the port fell from 900 to 200; the yearly commercial transactions decreased from between thirteen and fourteen to between two and three millions of florins; and the population, which in 1808 amounted to 40,000, had in 1812 already declined to 20,000.

When the Austrians returned to Trieste, in 1813, many of the French institutions were abolished, some retained, and a few new ones introduced. The poll-tax, the tax on trades, the greater part of the taxes on consumption, and the greater part of the stamp-duties, were done away with; the exemp-

tion from military service, and from the billeting of soldiers, and, above all, the freedom of the port, were restored.

Many, no doubt, wished for a simple return to the institutions of the middle ages, or, at all events, for a limitation to 16,000 florins, of all their pecuniary obligations to the state; but was such a return really possible? Would it have been just to the other portions of the Austrian monarchy? It was only to a connection with Austria, that Trieste could look for the revival of her prosperity; whereas Austria, in possession of Venice and Fiume, could very easily have dispensed with Trieste. The duty of the government was to make the interest of the city go hand in hand with that of the empire; and this task was fulfilled upon principles wholly antigallican, by recognizing the force of local circumstances, without allowing them to stand in the way of the unity of the state. Thus the authorities of the city were entrusted with the whole financial government of their townspeople. As before, a limited sum is paid annually; not indeed limited to 16,000 florins, for it now amounts to 500,000 florins, including 60,000 for the abolished poll and trade tax; 80,000 for the former land-tax; and 350,000 in lieu of customs and excise. The town has, nevertheless, gained greatly by being relieved from the French system of government, and is much

better able now to pay the larger than it formerly was to pay the smaller sum. A sufficient proof of this is afforded by the astonishing development of wealth and commerce, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak.

Singular as is the financial position of Trieste, in relation to the empire at large, its own system of taxation is not less singular. The whole taxation of the city amounts to about a million of florins, and, of these, more than half is obtained by a duty on wine. I hope that I may not be deemed tedious, if I endeavour to explain this more fully to you.

Since the fourteenth century, a tax on the consumption of wine, (*dazio educilio*) has formed the chief source of the revenue of the city. In 1769, a second tax on the importation of wine, (*dazio dei poveri*) was imposed, to obtain a fund for the support of poor-houses and hospitals. This second tax was, in 1829, raised from one florin to two florins per *eimer*. In that year, indeed, many new arrangements were submitted to, in order to avoid the introduction of the Austrian system of finance, which would be altogether unsuitable for Trieste. These two florins, together with a market-toll of three kreuzers per *eimer*, are paid by all those who lay in or import wine in large quantities. The *dazio educilio* is paid on the retail of wine in quantities of less than half an *eimer*, and amounts to 22½ per cent. on the value. On fresh and pressed

grapes, a proportionate tax is also imposed, to prevent an evasion of the duty.

The intention was to have extended this duty of 22½ per cent. to all spirituous liquors; but this, it was found, would be attended with many difficulties in a free port: an arrangement was, therefore, made between the privileged dealers and the farmers of the tax, for a certain payment calculated on the average consumption.

Beer, whether foreign or of home manufacture, pays one florin and twenty kreuzers per *eimer*; vinegar, merely a tax on measurement of three kreuzers per *eimer*. Oil and all other liquids are free.

The tax on wine is calculated to amount to 25 per cent. on the wholesale, and to 39 per cent. on the retail trade. This tax, together with that on spirituous liquors, is farmed out for a yearly sum of 565,600 florins. The whole consumption of wine may amount to one hundred and eighty thousand *eimer*,* a large quantity for the population.

The working classes, it is supposed, drink about one half of the wine consumed within the city, and are consequently much more heavily taxed by the *dazio educilio* than their more wealthy fellow-citizens; still, the whole community have so long been accustomed to the arrangement, that no complaints

* The *orna* or *eimer* of Trieste is equal to about 12½ imperial gallons.—Tr.

are heard. Besides, there is no want of employment, and the *educilio* and high rents afford a ready ground for a demand of high wages.

Negociations are at present going on for a reform in the tax on wine and spirits, with a view to relieve the wine grown within the territory of Trieste from the additional florin imposed in 1829, and to cover the deficiency by an augmentation of the duty on spirits and beer. Such a privilege to the wine of Trieste, however, would be certain to excite bitter complaints in Istria, and the freedom of the port might be found inconsistent with such regulations as would be necessary to cover the deficit. The latter inconvenience may be remedied, perhaps, by an augmentation of the annual rent at which the taxes are farmed, the present contract expiring in three years.

Next to the tax on wine and spirits, that on meat is the most important. It is farmed out for 101,400 florins, and is levied at five avenues. It amounts:—

On oxen, bulls, cows, and on calves more than a year old, to.....	7fl	— kr. each.
On calves of less than a year old...	1	40
On sheep and goats...		24
On lambs and small pigs.....		15
On pigs between 9 and 35lbs. weight		45
On pigs weighing more than 35lbs.	1	30

The house and ground-tax bring in about 85,000 florins. A tax imposed on carriages and horses brings in about 38,000 florins, by means of which the excellent pavement is kept in order. A few more trifling taxes need not be enumerated.

That these taxes are not oppressive is shown by the gradual increase in the population. It amounted—

In 1717, when the port was declared free, to	5,600
1758	6,400
1777	20,000
1804	40,000
1808	33,000
1812	20,000
1826	40,000
1837	51,000
1838	53,000
And, in 1839, it probably exceeds	54,000
And, including the territory, is certainly not less than	74,000

The chapter of the cathedral of Trieste is composed of ten canons and twelve councillors. The city is divided into only two parishes, with two principal incumbents and fourteen assistants. The increasing population would certainly justify an augmentation in this clerical staff. Readily as the

individual merit of some of the clergy is admitted, a general complaint is made, that, as a body, they are in education and intelligence far below the level which might fairly be required.

A very reasonable wish prevails for the institution of an Italian normal school, in addition to the two German ones that already exist; and for the establishment of a public school within the city, in order that parents may not be under the necessity of sending their children away from them. What the French did, in this respect, has fallen to the ground again; and the Nautical Academy, which, since 1820, has grown out of the old school of commerce, turns education into one direction alone—a highly important one, no doubt, in a town like Trieste; but still insufficient for general purposes. This academy contains rather more than one hundred pupils, and would probably number many more, were it not for a rule that requires all candidates to have spent five years in a normal school. The professors receive from 800 to 1,000 florins a year; the other teachers, including language-masters, from 400 to 600; and the director, 1200. Commerce, navigation, naval architecture, and languages, form the chief objects of instruction. The pupils have from thirty to thirty-one school hours in a week. Religious instruction forms a part of the educational course, in which protestant and Jewish

children are not obliged to participate, if they produce a certificate to show that they receive religious instruction elsewhere, according to the tenets of their several creeds.

Owing to the general prosperity of the city, and the facility with which employment may be obtained, the maintenance of the poor occasions much less trouble than in many other places; still, in this respect also, a very laudable activity is manifested. In 1817, a Society of Beneficence was formed, under the administration of sixteen deputies from the eight several sections of the city. The object chiefly in view was the suppression of street-begging; and this is effected either by supplying the poor with work, or by affording them relief, either in the shape of food or money. Whoever can obtain work, and is equal to it, has no claim to any relief. Relief, in the shape of food, is never given for more than a fortnight at a time; and consists usually of two pints of Rumford soup, and eight ounces of bread, a day. Beggars not belonging to the city, if too weak to work, are fed till they have gained strength, when employment is found for them, or they are sent to their homes. The sick are received into the hospitals. A list of the voluntary contributions to the fund is yearly printed and distributed.

Owing to the cholera and its consequences, the

expenditure in 1836 and 1837 was greater than usual. In the latter of those two years, there were distributed—

591,834 portions of soup.
56,951 ..... meat.
330,563 ..... bread.
57,816 .... wine.

Voluntary contributions were received to the amount of.....	6,250 florins.
Donations	2,273
Interest on money invested.....	6,343
Theatre	716
From the wine tax.....	9,515
Permissions for balls.....	189
Dotation of the hospital.....	12,000

The whole receipts and expenditure for the poor amounted to about 38,000 florins.

I come now to the great source of life to Trieste —her commerce. To the increase of this, the freedom of the port has mainly contributed, by enabling activity and enterprise to reap their reward, undisturbed by a multitude of fiscal burdens, impositions, annoyances, &c. The custom-house line, towards the interior, has never been felt as a great inconvenience, little or nothing being either made or produced within Trieste.

There are two institutions that have proved of the greatest importance in a commercial point of

view—the Exchange and the Austrian Lloyd. The Exchange, according to the law of the 18th of September, 1804, forms a central point of union for the whole commercial public. It is under the direction of six deputies, who are elected for three years, and each of whom undertakes the administration for six months. Only wholesale dealers can become members of the Exchange, and candidates rejected by the deputies have a right of appeal to the general assembly of all the members, where the question is decided by ballot. The deputation has charge of the revenues of the Exchange—acts as mediator between the government and the mercantile community —suggests questions for consideration—sees to the execution of decisions—examines brokers previously to their admission—communicates various kinds of commercial information, &c. In cases of an equality of votes, the senior deputy's opinion decides.

The whole body of members choose a consulta, or committee, of forty, to whom the deputation may submit important matters for deliberation. During the last week in December, the deputation delivers in to a general assembly an account of the year's administration. A lawyer is always ready to afford the deputation legal assistance. Many disputes may be brought for decision before the Exchange, such as relate to valuations, auctions, &c.; and these naturally become an additional source of income to

the institution. Every member, on being admitted, pays 40 florins entrance, and a yearly subscription to the same amount.

Another law of the 18th of September, 1804, determines the duties, privileges, and requisite information of brokers. The manner is distinctly prescribed in which they are to keep their books, these being liable to be called for as judicial evidence; above all, brokers are strictly prohibited from engaging in trade, either directly or indirectly.

The Austrian Lloyd, as it is called, originated in 1833, and is divided into two chief sections. The one employs itself in collecting every kind of useful information respecting trade and navigation; the other forms a steam-navigation company. Each section elects two members, in whom the general direction is vested, under the superintendence of a president, who remains in office only six months. The first section of the Lloyd keeps a list of all ships arriving and departing, and of all goods imported or exported; communicates commercial news from all parts of the world, and possesses a fine collection of maps, charts, commercial treaties, laws respecting trade, &c. Each member of the Lloyd pays a subscription of 30 florins annually. Strangers are admitted upon easy terms. A commercial newspaper, connected with this institution, has been found extremely useful.

The Lloyd Steam Navigation Company owed its origin chiefly to the conviction that the revival of Egypt, the emancipation of Greece, the well-known events in Turkey, and a variety of other recent occurrences, had caused a great revolution in trade, and were preparing its return to the ancient channel. To this were attributed the exertions of England to establish steam-navigation on the Red Sea and the Euphrates, similar efforts on the part of France, the establishment of Austrian steam-boats on the Danube, &c. These circumstances, it was thought, would be certain to give a greater extension to the trade of the Mediterranean, and even to divert a portion of the trade of India to the Levant.

The capital (in the first instance a million of florins) was raised by shares, and a council of administration was chosen, consisting of a president and six directors. The president remains in office fifteen years; of the directors, one retires every year. All disputes between the company and one of its members must be decided, without appeal, by arbitrators chosen by the parties to the dispute. The coasting trade with steam-boats between Trieste and Venice, and between other Austrian ports, is secured to the company as a monopoly till the year 1842. Six steam-boats now run alternately to Ancona, Corfu, Patrasso, Candia, Athens, Sira, Smyrna, the Dar-

danelles, Constantinople, and Alexandria. The advantage of this institution, so far as the saving of time is concerned, may be estimated by the fact, that travellers may now reach Venice in nine hours, and Ancona in sixteen hours; so that Rome is brought within a distance of four days from Trieste, and Naples within a distance of six days. There cannot be a doubt that the number of travellers will go on increasing, and that the company will eventually reap the reward of their preseverance and enterprize. In the year 1838, the trips between Trieste and Venice amounted in number to 312, and the travellers to 14,288.

Independently of the great political importance of the commercial treaty concluded between England and Austria on the 3rd of July, 1838, it is certain to lead to useful results for the traders of both countries. Which may derive the greatest advantage, will depend less on the letter of the treaty than on the greater activity of one nation or the other. A perfect system of equality has not yet been adopted, nor, under existing circumstances, was it practicable; thus the productions of Asia, Africa, and America, cannot be imported directly, in Austrian ships, from all parts of the world; but they can be so imported from the Danube and from the Mediterranean ports. In the same way, the produce of those dis-

tant regions may be shipped for England, as soon as they have been previously brought into an Austrian port. The Austrian ships trading to Constantinople already exceed in number those of all other nations, and are continually increasing.

To show the growing prosperity of Trieste, I must trouble you with figures; these, however, are not dry and insignificant to an attentive observer, but, on the contrary, exceedingly eloquent and instructive.

The average annual importation into Trieste was,

	From 1816 to 1820.	From 1831 to 1835.	Increase per cent.
Coffee (Vienna cwt.)	42,542	163,198	383
Cotton	44,759	142,535	318
Corn (staii*)]	817,879	907,604	111
Wool (cwt.)	11,241	24,767	220
Oil (casks, 107 Vienna lbs. each)	92,288	204,153	221
Sugar (cwt.)	130,731	378,588	289

			Tonnage.
Arrived in 1834	939	large vessels	183,767
... 1835	1691		225,538
... 1836	1756		251,531
... 1837	1731		234,212
... 1838	1778		229,478

If we add the coasting trade, the aggregate ton-

* The *staio* is equal to $2\frac{34}{100}$ of Winchester bushels.

nage of the arrivals would stand, in round numbers, thus:—

1834	324,000	
1835	305,000	
1836	330,030	
1837	313,000	(cholera year.)
1838	363,000	

Among the large vessels that arrived were:—

	In 1834.	In 1838.	
Hamburg	—	5	
American	47	39	
Hanoverian	2	3	
Austrian	475	583	
Belgian	—	5	
Brasilian	—	3	
Bremen	3	6	
Danish	3	19	
French	12	12	
Jerusalem	1	1	
Greek	136	212	
Ionian	13	32	
English	127	136	
Norwegian	—	17	
Oldenburg	—	1	
Dutch	8	13	
Turkish	5	13	
Roman	22	297	(including coasters in 1838.)

	In 1834.		In 1838.	
Portuguese ...	—	...	5	
Prussian	2	...	4	
Russian	8	...	18	
Swedish	8	...	18	
Spanish	4	...	7	
Sardinian	30	...	47	
Samiot	—	...	1	
Sicilian.....	31	...	274	(including coasters in 1838.)
Tuscan	2	...	7	

The table just given shows the rate at which each nation has increased its traffic to Trieste.

To complete the review of the maritime traffic of Trieste, the Lloyd publishes the following table for 1838:—

			Aggregate Tonnage.
There entered inwards, large vessels carrying sails	1,778	...	229,478
Ditto, steamers	28	...	9,040
Large coasters carrying sails	2,529	...	90,805
Ditto, steamers	166	..	33,880
Small coasters.....	5,675	...	131,875
	10,176		495,078
The ships that sailed in the same year amounted to	10,121		489,912

The imports, in 1838, were—

Coffee	313,500 cwt.
Cotton	180,057 bales of 2 cwt. each.
Oats	32,681 staii.
Wheat	555,394
Indian corn	335,033
Barley	21,370
Rye	58,808
Flour	185,800 cwt.
Potatoes	131,050
Oil.....	205,950 eimer.
Sugar, refined ...	145,160 cwt.
Ditto, raw.....	403,490
Wool	20,141 bales.
Tea	300 chests.
Beer	10,430 casks.
Salt	169,481 cwt.
Tobacco	48,070
Sulphur	25,510
Wine	14,819 packages.

The prices of many goods vary so much that it is difficult to estimate the pecuniary value of the whole, but sugar is the most important article, and then follow, in succession, cotton, corn, coffee, oil, &c. The imports in 1838, it has been calculated, amounted in value in round numbers:—

From Brasil.....	to 9,000,000 florins.
France	3,000,000

Egypt	5,500,000 florins.
Turkey	7,200,000
Russia	3,500,000
England	8,400,000
Holland.....	2,800,000
North America...	3,500,000
Austrian coasting trade	9,900,000
Neapolitan and Sicilian ditto.....	3,900,000
Roman coasting trade	850,000
Prussian.....	291,000
Trieste produce...	4,000,000
From the interior	15,000,000

The whole trade, by land and sea, for that year, is calculated to have amounted to 88,000,000 florins; whereas in 1800, it is supposed to have not exceeded 15,000,000. The natural advantages of Trieste and the remarkable activity of its population will lead, it is to be hoped, to a farther development of its commerce; but it is not to be denied that there are many artificial advantages, to which a change of circumstances might easily put an end. Thus, for instance, it seems strange that Trieste should supply the Levant with coffee, Apulia with sugar, England with cotton and corn, and Venice and Lombardy with colonial goods.

The export to Apulia is connected with a system of smuggling. The export of cotton to England proceeds from the circumstance that the Viceroy of Egypt has removed the depôt of his monopoly to Trieste, where the quarantine and disinfection are attended with least trouble.

That Trieste takes no part in speculations in public funds and shares must undoubtedly be considered an advantage for the place. Many wish to see a Bank established, for which, however, there does not as yet appear to be a sufficient surplus capital, and the want of a commercial code is universally complained of.

A new law, of the highest importance for Trieste, is that of the 22nd September, 1838, for regulating the government of the town. After the suppression of all the old communal institutions, it was necessary that something decided should be done in this respect; and, compared with the previous state of things, the new law may certainly be regarded as a most gratifying step in advance. I will state the main points.

In addition to the magistracy of the city, a corporation has been established, to participate in the management of the city funds, and to give its opinion on many important questions connected with Trieste and its territory. This representative body is divided into the Great and Little Council. The

former consists of forty members. In the first instance, the magistracy and the individuals who till then had been considered to represent the town proposed eighty names, from among which the government was to make its selection. Of these candidates, sixty were to be owners of real property, and employing a capital of not less than 20,000 florins. The other twenty might be persons distinguished by personal acquirements, or who had taken an academic degree. Clergymen, public officers, minors, persons under criminal accusation, and bankrupts whose creditors had lost more than twelve per cent., are declared ineligible. The forty members were to remain in office six years, and then one-sixth to retire every year, but to be re-eligible; and it is understood that, without some very strong grounds, government will never refuse to confirm the election of the townspeople.

The Great Council chooses ten of its own body to form the Little Council. These ten continue one year in office. The Great Council meets once a year, under the presidence of the magistrates, to elect the Little Council—to audit the accounts of the preceding year—to deliberate on the ways and means of that next ensuing — to suggest measures likely to promote the welfare of the town—and to give an opinion on such questions as may be proposed for consideration.

The Little Council meets whenever the magistrates deem it expedient to call it together, and deliberates on the means of executing plans already adopted — on the administration of the several branches of the public revenue—on law proceedings to be instituted—on measures to be suggested to the government, &c. In case of a difference of opinion between the magistrates and the Council, an appeal lies to the Great Council, to whom questions of great importance may be referred, even when there is no want of agreement. At least thirty members of the Great Council must be present to form a quorum, and any member absenting himself three times, without some sufficient cause, ceases to belong to the board.

The townspeople, accordingly, have no direct voice in the election of their magistrates, who preside over the deliberations of a representative council, which is invested only with the right of giving its advice and opinion. Compared with the immunities of Prussian cities, those of Trieste are certainly very limited. All decisions come from the higher authorities, and the magistrates preserve a preponderating, and, it is to be hoped, a salutary influence; but these new civic institutions are probably intended only as a commencement in the way of reform, and much is already gained by the creation of a legitimate channel for the expression of public opinion.

The cosmopolite spirit of the population, promoted by the congregation of so many wealthy and active individuals from all parts of the world, has put an end to every kind of aristocratic pride, idleness, and coxcombry. Every man in Trieste must work. This principle of equality promotes social intercourse, though this, on the other hand, is somewhat impeded by the want of a general language. The frequent habit of travelling, and of sending children to be educated in foreign countries, has the effect of destroying that *one-sidedness* of information which prevails in so many commercial towns; thus it may be hoped that science and the arts will strike deeper and deeper root, till Trieste really possesses that which Venice only boasts of as having formerly belonged to her forefathers.

LETTER VI.

Decline of the Republic of Venice—Its Causes—Free Port—Navigation—Imports and Exports—Taxation—Revenue and Expenditure of the City.

Venice, April 7th.

In my last letter I communicated to you many particulars respecting Trieste; to-day my theme shall be Venice, viewed in its relation to Austria, and more particularly to Trieste.

To understand the present position of Venice, it is necessary first to look back upon the past.

The faults of Venice are not justified, nor can their consequences be arrested by the faults of others. At a time of general movement, he who does not advance is soon left in the rear, and the storm passes over him. In the year 1815, many entertained a natural and laudable wish for the regeneration of their country; but the form of a close hereditary aristocracy was obsolete, odious, and unrestorable; and who can say, whether an infusion of the democratic principle (and to what extent) would have given new life to the institutions, or would have destroyed them altogether? Was there a fairer prospect of prosperity and progress in a renewed isolation of Venice, or in a union with the powerful Austrian monarchy? Was it matter of surprise that Austria should seek to retain what she had acquired by the exertion of her own force; that she should wish to secure her frontier against the most powerful and most restless nation of Europe? Here the force of circumstances was manifested; but not without an instructive lesson on the relation of cause to effect.

By commerce, Venice had become great; and by new commercial regulations, the inhabitants believed that their native city could be raised again; the wish for the establishment of a free port was ex-

pressed so generally and so loudly, that the government consented, though without participating in all the hopes founded on the proposed change. The principles brought into action since the 1st of February, 1830, are these :—

Firstly.—All goods entering or leaving the harbour are free, with the exception of those articles that form government monopolies, such as salt, tobacco, saltpetre, and gunpowder.

Secondly.—All goods to pass into or through the interior of Austria are to be deposited in warehouses.

Thirdly.—Certain manufactures of Venice (and their number has been gradually increasing) pay no more, on being imported into the Austrian states, than would have been paid by the raw produce. This favour is enjoyed by glass, mirrors, jewellery, wax candles, woven goods, gloves, cream of tartar, and theriac. Since December, 1830, the list has been extended, and now includes beaver hats, strings for musical instruments, clocks, organs, optical instruments, masks, pencils, starch, &c.

Fourthly.—The old tax on consumption continues in force, and has even been increased on a few articles, while, on the other hand, some have become free. Most of the articles of daily use are brought to Venice, duty free, from the continent. Such are butter, fish, vegetables, fruit, onions,

wood, corn, straw, flour, eggs, native wine, charcoal, &c.

These are the main principles of the change; let us now examine to what consequences it has led. In 1829, the last year before the opening of the free port, there entered into the harbour of Venice—

	Ships.	Aggregate Tonnage.
Austrian	2059	151,361
Neapolitan	18	1,542
Roman	54	2,495
English	7	932
Swedish	1	108
Ionian	1	44
French	1	99
Russian	1	230
Greek	4	99
Total	2,146	156,910

In the foregoing account, coasting vessels are included. In the official table for 1838, the small coasters are distinguished from large sea-going vessels; but the tonnage of the former is not stated. The arrivals, in 1838, were as follows:—

	Ships.	Aggregate Tonnage.
Hanoverian	2	252
Austrian	218	33,588
Bremen	1	160
Danish	2	230
Greek	14	1,582

	Ships.	Aggregate Tonnage.
English.....	30	4,300
Ionian	2	470
Neapolitan	65	4,646
Norwegian	3	500
Roman	4	286
Russian.....	1	220
Swedish.....	9	1,464
	351	47,698
Add coasters from Trieste, with oil, corn, colonial and manufactured goods, wool, cotton, &c.	723	
Other small coasters.....	2424	
Total..... ..	3498 vessels.	

There sailed, during the same year ..... 345 large vessels.
492 Trieste vessels.
1742 small coasters.

Total..... 2579 vessels.

In the same year (1838) the steam-boats performed 307 trips, and brought 14,643 travellers to Venice, partly in consequence of the emperor's coronation.

Among the importations are enumerated: —

Coffee...5,000 cwt.	value in Austrian lire	830,000
Sugar...28,000	,,	2,500,000

Oil...200 cwt. value in Austrian lire 8,500,000
Fish...41,000 „ 2,390,000
and the whole commercial movement of Venice is estimated at 25,000,000 of florins.

A greater number of articles are subject to the tax on consumption in Venice than in Trieste, and the proceeds go partly to the state and partly to the city. The charge is levied by the metric *zentner* or cwt. The metric pound is equal to 1 lb. 12½ oz. Vienna weight.

	To the State. Lire.	Cent.	To the City. Lire.	Cent.
Wine, vinegar, and beer	3	69	2	75
Foreign wine	13	69	2	75
Grapes.....	2	50	2	0
Foreign grapes.....	12	50	2	0
Spirits	28	5		
Flour and bread, according to the quality, from	3	75	1	83
to	4	33	2	15
Oxen, each	30	78	10	0
Cows	21	98	8	0
Calves	8	21	2	0
Pigs	8	80	5	0
Sheep, goats, lambs .	1	2	0	35

The population amounted in 1824 to 100,000
and in 1838 110,000

Making an increase of 10,000

Such, at least, is the statement relative to the population supposed to be nearest the truth, although others make it out considerably less.

In the year 1834, the tax on consumption was paid in Venice:—

For bread and flour of every kind, on.....	102,829	metrical cwt.
Wine	248,572	
Oxen	5,333	head
Cows	4,892	
Calves	4,378	
Pigs	3,627	
Sheep, goats, &c.	29,393	

The most recent calculation (*preventivo*) of the Revenue and Expenditure of Venice is as follows:

REVENUE.

1. Rents (*fitti*)	486 florins
2. Quitrents (*livello*)	4,763
3. Licenses	4,700
4. Tax on Trades and Professions	9,479
5. Police Tax	14,206
6. Tax on Consumption	340,458
7. Additional Land Tax (*estimo*)	86,922
	460,014 florins*

* There is an inaccuracy in one of the items of this table, but the sum total is probably correct, since it corresponds with the table that follows.—*Tr.*

EXPENDITURE.

	florins.
1. Salaries (including 3000 fl. for the Podesta)	35,534
2. Office expenses	3,161
3. Pensions	5,018
4. Rent, &c.	4,329
5. Repairs of roads, bridges, and lighthouses	25,257
6. Street Police	6,511
7. Lighting	54,787
8. Religious festivals	3,262
9. To the poor and to charitable institutions	113,385
Of this the hospital receives 64,001	
Two foundling hospitals 36,671	
House of Industry 9,612	
Infant schools 3,101	
10. Military contingencies	17,084
11. New roads and bridges	72,173
12. Public education	4,225
13. Fire-offices	15,788
14. The Fenice theatre	26,858
15. Sundry ordinary expenses	12,705
16. Purchases (*acquisti stabili*)	12,000
17. Extraordinary expenses (including new cadastre, numbering the houses, &c.)	41,667
18. Balance	6,270
	460,014

If the tax on consumption (340,458 florins) be divided among a population of 110,000, it will be found to amount to a trifle more than 3 florins per head.

LETTER VII.

Comparison between Venice and Trieste.

Venice, April 8.

Though you may have had the patience to look over the tables and figures which I sent you yesterday, I am aware that many readers, particularly among the fairer ones, will complain of my sending home such dry details, instead of amusing letters. Yet it is from those figures that we may learn to know the symptoms of life or death, and that we may judge of the treatment received by Venice, a city, in its way, the most remarkable in the whole world. For my own part, I can be excited even to tears, much more easily by dry but significant figures, than by all the moral torture of the most heart-rending romance.

On comparing the arrivals and departures of vessels, in 1829, with those of 1837 and 1838, we find in the first place a decided increase in the maritime traffic of Venice, since the establishment of a free port.

The general amount of taxation appears neither

to have increased nor diminished to any great extent since 1829.

The magnificent expectations to which the establishment of a free port gave rise have not been realized; this has led some to inveigh against the principle of free ports generally, and others more particularly against the application of them to Venice. The opponents to all free ports argue that, if the institution confer no benefit on the favoured city, the act is one of mere folly; that if it do confer benefit, the act is one of injustice to all those cities that are not similarly distinguished. What is gained by one must be lost by some other, while a part of the state revenue is sacrificed, the consumption of foreign merchandize encouraged, and great facility afforded to smuggling. The free port, they add, is severed from the rest of the country, and becomes nothing but a selfish factory of foreign merchants.

These arguments are not without force, and show the necessity of treating all citizens according to equal principles. They would have yet more weight if the system of customs' duties were simple and natural, and not of such a character that they destroy the trade of many towns altogether, if enforced without any regard to local circumstances. The peculiar relations of Venice, and the wish to give a

new impulse to the revival of her prosperity, decided in favour of the free port.

Soon, however, the important fact began to manifest itself, that Venice was not merely a *commercial* but likewise a *manufacturing* town; some are indeed of opinion that the population ought entirely to renounce their artificial trade, and apply themselves altogether to manufactures, for which the abundance of cheap houses and cheap labour seems to afford many advantages. The free importation and exportation by sea, it is argued, does not compensate for the exclusion from the main land.

The government, justly averse to sudden changes and extreme measures, adopted a middle way; facilitated the exportation of domestic manufactures by land, and lowered the importation duties. This was all that was practicable. A free port to foreign and inland trade would be something impossible, or at least, according to the present system of taxation, a measure of crying injustice.

Nor must the fact be lost sight of, that Venice as yet is no manufacturing town in an extended sense of the word. Mirrors, straw hats, wax candles, catgut, and the like, are articles of trifling importance, compared with objects of universal consumption.

Trieste, in almost every point of view, appears to be placed in more favourable circumstances than Venice. As I have already shown you, the popu-

lation is rapidly increasing. The arrivals and departures of ships more than double, the commercial transactions more than treble, those of Venice; in a word, the new Illyrian city is every day getting more and more ahead of the old Italian one. I have heard many different opinions, both in Trieste and Venice, as to the causes of this, and was often reminded of similar discussions on the subject of Bristol and Liverpool. I will endeavour to make the nature of the arguments on both sides more intelligible, by presenting them in the shape of an imaginary conversation between a Venetian and a Triestine.

VENETIAN.—The geographical position of Trieste is much more favourable to trade than that of Venice, particularly with respect to the Austrian and Hungarian territories. To this, the greater activity of its commerce must be attributed.

TRIESTINE.—Venice possesses similar advantages with respect to Lombardy, Tyrol, Switzerland, and Southern Germany. All circumstances considered, the geographical position of the one, as far as the mainland is concerned, is as favourable as that of the other.

VENETIAN.—Trieste's connection with the mainland facilitates trade, whereas Venice, in time of war, might be completely blockaded.

TRIESTINE.—The conveyance of goods up the

hills to Opuna is quite as inconvenient as that by water to Fusina, and a war-blockade would be an exceptional state of things, and can have no influence upon the present progress or decay of the place.

VENETIAN.—Large vessels can enter the harbour of Trieste with more winds than one, but only small ones can enter that of Venice, and then not without danger and loss of time.

TRIESTINE.—On the other hand, Trieste has no harbour, properly speaking, but merely a roadstead, which is not sufficiently protected against storms; but the harbour of Venice, when once entered, affords complete protection. Besides, all these difficulties will vanish as soon as the works at Malamocco are completed. Even now vessels of 250 to 300 tons can enter Venice.

N. B. The entrance at Lido is less deep than at Malamocco, on which account the latter entrance is preferred for larger vessels, though its depth, (16½ feet) is still insufficient, as the tides and currents of the Adriatic frequently alter the channel, and lessen the depth of water. It is, therefore, now in contemplation to construct a pier from Malamocco, near Fort Alberoni, which will have the effect of breaking the force of the Adriatic current, and prevent the latter from encountering the tides of the lagoons. The tide, no longer arrested in its course, will have

the effect of deepening the channel. Many assert that these works are executed less with a view to commercial advantages, than for the convenience of the Austrian ships of war. The two objects however will go hand in hand.

VENETIAN.—There is more religious liberty a Trieste than at Venice; and the former is exempt from the conscription to which the latter is subjected.

TRIESTINE.—Joseph the Second's praiseworthy edict of toleration (and without toleration commerce cannot be prosecuted on a comprehensive scale) is law in Venice as well as in Trieste. If the Venetians are less liberal in its application, the fault is their own. To be exempt from the conscription is certainly an advantage to Trieste, where labour is both dear and scarce; but to Venice, on the other hand, its military duties are not burdensome. On the contrary, it may be doubted, when its numerous and unemployed population is considered, whether a larger levy would not be beneficial to Venice. If we except volunteers, Venice furnishes only at the rate of 50 men a year.

VENETIAN.—The administration of the city, more particularly with respect to its finances, is, in Trieste, quite independent of the government; in Venice it is under complete subjection to the government authorities, a state of things which operates to the detriment of trade.

TRIESTINE.—This independent position is unquestionably a great advantage to Trieste; but it is one that has been purchased by great pecuniary sacrifices, and the form in no way decides respecting the substance, namely, the amount and burden of the taxation.

VENETIAN.—These burdens and taxes are much heavier with us. The tax on cattle may be instanced, and from the bread and mill tax the Triestines are wholly exempt.

TRIESTINE.—The remark respecting cattle and the mill-tax is perfectly correct, but it does not follow, that upon the whole the Triestine pays less. In Venice, for instance, all articles of consumption taken together pay only 340,000 florins; whereas, in Trieste, the tax on wine, beer, and spirits, alone, amounts to 565,000 florins.

VENETIAN.—That proves little or nothing, since in Trieste the state and town taxes go together. The 340,000 florins are only a town tax.

TRIESTINE.—The public revenue of Trieste amounts to about a million of florins annually, of which one half goes to the state and the other half to the town. The 50,000 Triestines, therefore, pay more to the town tax than the 110,000 Venetians contribute for their city. The same proportion would, no doubt, hold good, if the contributions to the state were compared.

VENETIAN.—Such comparisons are difficult to make, and figures and tables prove less than many suppose. A stranger need only look about him in Trieste and Venice, and he will immediately be convinced of the wealth of the former and the poverty of the latter, and, consequently, of the much greater ability of the former to support a heavy load of taxation.

TRIESTINE.—That such an appearance of things does exist cannot be denied, but it would be impossible to accommodate the taxation of every separate town to its individual prosperity. The real point is to ascertain the causes of such difference; and, if we inquire into these, we shall probably find, that the main cause of the decay of Venice is to be traced to the indolence, the main cause of the prosperity of Trieste to the activity and enterprize, of the population. This, in fact, is the main point to be considered; all others are merely of secondary importance.

VENETIAN.—Were it so, it would be necessary to inquire into the causes of this "main point." For many centuries, no population was more active than that of Venice. To say now, because there is a great appearance of poverty in the place, and because idle people may be seen hanging about St. Mark's Place, or along the Riva degli Schiavoni, that the people generally are indolent, is to jump

somewhat too suddenly to a conclusion. Are the people of London idle because the hackney-coach and cab drivers loiter about the streets waiting for customers, just as our gondoliers do with us? Or is indolence a characteristic of the population of Berlin, where the *Eckensteher* differ very little from our *Fachini?*

TRIESTINE.—In reply to the reproach of a too hasty conclusion, it will be quite sufficient to point attention to the circumstances that have wrought the change in Venice. The honourable activity for which its inhabitants were once distinguished led to the accumulation of wealth, and wealth led to a greater excess of luxury, as, in the altered direction of commerce, the employment of capital offered less brilliant rewards to a perseverance in the ancient habits of mercantile industry. Instead of entering, in the true spirit of emulation, upon the new course which the change in circumstances pointed out, the Venetians continued their former course, until the fountain of life became more and more dried up. The patricians no longer knew either how to govern or how to enrich themselves, and the way in which they gave employment to the people, or rather fed without really employing them, accustomed the masses to a life of indolence, concealed under a thin disguise of emasculating frugality. Transpose the population of Venice to Trieste, and that of Trieste

to Venice, and it will soon be seen whether local circumstances or individual character exercise the greater influence over the progress and decay of cities and states.

LETTER VIII.

Improvement in Venice — Merit of the Government — Poor Laws — Foundling Hospitals.

Milan, April 12th.

To-day, in Milan, for the first time, I find leisure to continue my account of Venetian affairs; not, however, in the form of a dialogue, since on the points that remain for consideration there is less perplexity, besides which my own opinions and observations involuntarily assume too prominent a part in the discussion.

I am told that even now there are merchants in Venice much more wealthy than any in Trieste; but this wealth would exercise a much more beneficial influence if divided among a greater number of hands, or if the owners confined themselves less to the business of bankers, which, though it may be profitable to those engaged in it, produces nothing new, and affords employment only to a small number of individuals. The Venetian merchants trade, in general, only in one article; those of Trieste, on the contrary, turn themselves in every direction,

the moment they perceive a favourable opportunity for making money; and their extensive connexions, together with the prompt information collected through the medium of their Lloyd, secure to them many advantages. It has frequently happened that goods, which no one would buy at Venice on speculation, have been sold at a good price at Trieste, and afterwards reshipped for Venice, and disposed of at a considerable advance. Many Venetian capitalists have lent money to Triestine houses, and a large part of Lombardy is supplied with a variety of goods from Trieste by way of Venice. The mystery maintained in Venice with respect to certain commercial relations has been productive of less advantage than the publicity which prevails at Trieste.

At the same time, it must ot be forgotten how difficult it is to alter old established customs and connexions, to open new channels for trade, or to disturb rivals in the quiet enjoyment of an existing advantage. Nor must we lose sight of the calamitous revolutions by which Venice has been visited during the last forty years. It would be idle to hope that Venice will ever be able to run again her former brilliant career; but it is just as idle to suppose that the city will be inhabited only by owls fifty years hence, according to the prophecy of a Frenchman, to whom Locatelli has eloquently replied. It is

already a great point gained, that a stop has been put to the diminution in trade and population, which were rapidily melting away under selfish republicanism and the despotic tyranny of the continental system, those twin gifts of France. During the last fifteen years, the progress of decay has been arrested, and, under the present intelligent and paternal government, things are improving again, though but slowly. Venice is recovering its ancient habits of discretion and activity, but I feel bound to say, and here I but echo the opinion of very many Venetians, that much remains to be done before the population can relieve itself of the reproach of indolence. In Naples, where Heaven dispenses its gifts with such profusion, the *dolce far niente* seems a thing more natural than in the desolate marshes from which the marvels of Venice could be raised only by the most arduous and persevering exertions. A people that can boast of such ancestors may count upon the sympathy and interest of the world, but must neither claim nor hope for that indulgence which can fall only to the share of weakness and insignificance. How is it that so many strangers find employment in Venice as water-carriers, servants, &c.? How is it that scarcely any kind of hard labour in Venice is performed by natives? How is it that even patricians deem it less disgraceful to enter their names in the lists of

paupers than to apply themselves to labour? How was it that I saw more idle people in St. Mark's Place in one day, than in England during a whole year? With all my partiality for Venice, I cannot suggest a satisfactory answer to any one of these questions, but am forced to look for their solution in the administration of the poor laws.

All Italy is distinguished for the number of its charitable institutions; and, in this respect, Venice and Lombardy certainly hold as prominent a place as any other part of the country. There is one house within the city in which 700 poor people are lodged, and many more have free lodgings, and receive pecuniary assistance out of the establishment. There is an orphan-house for about 335 children, an infirmary for 36 women, a wealthy institution for the reception of penitent women, a hospital capable of receiving 1000 patients, a house of education for 90 young girls, a foundling hospital, &c., and the revenues, chiefly arising from endowments, amount to about 580,000 florins. The French government, according to its customary system of concerning itself only about general and neglecting individual considerations, threw all these institutions and endowments into one, without any respect for their origin, their object, or the directions of their founders. In 1826, this state of things was remedied, and each foundation placed

under a distinct administration, but the whole subjected to the inspection of the government authorities.

A law was passed, on the 1st of September, 1836, for the institution of fraternal unions (*fraterne parochiali*) in each parish. The enactments direct that every member of such a union shall pay at least two lire and thirty centimes, and that the fund, under the management of persons appointed for that purpose, shall be applied to the relief of the poor. No relief is to be given:

1. To any healthy able-bodied man;

2. To any one who is in the receipt of fifty centimes a day;

3. To any one who refuses admittance into a house of industry;

3. To any one who neglects the ordinances of the church, neglects to have his children vaccinated, or leads a notoriously dissolute life.

The relief afforded to an adult is not to be less than fifteen nor more than sixty centimes a day, and for a child not less than ten nor more than fifteen centimes. In 1836, daily relief was afforded to 3200 permanent paupers, and occasional relief was afforded to 4000 more. The number of all whose names were entered on the lists of the poor, and who in the course of the year received assistance in the shape of money, medicine, &c., amounted

to 41,300 persons; in another year, to 40,782. If to these are added the several institutions for the receipt of lunatics, the sick, orphans, foundlings, &c., it will appear that no fewer than 52,443 persons receive charitable relief in one shape or other. Eight hundred patricians receive a kind of daily wages from the government; and a Jew, it is said, has bought the palace of the Foscari for an annuity of four or five lire a day, which he pays to two aged members of that family.

Whatever may be said of the poverty of Venice, and of the causes to which it is to be attributed, it is impossible not to suspect, with such figures before us, that so profuse a distribution of charity does not always attain the end in view, but that, on the contrary, as, at a recent period, was the case in England, it tends to create poverty rather than to remove it. There was a time when it would have been impossible to find 40,000 Venetians willing to allow their names to be entered upon the lists of the poor; and, could the will once be excited to shun such a disgrace, employment and subsistence would again be found, even under less favourable circumstances.

Of all these institutions, none, in my opinion, are more pernicious in their effects than the very expensive foundling hospitals.

For Venice, the number of foundlings now main-

tained is stated to be 3338 ; for the rural districts of Venice, 10,625.

Now, is it not a mistaken principle of philanthropy—is it not a most immoral act of charity—to offer in this way a public encouragement, not only to unmarried, but also to married parents, to enter upon a career of sin?—to throw upon others a duty imposed by nature, and to blunt the heart against all the impulses of parental affection? The ostensible motive is to prevent the murder of children; but can any one imagine that there would be, under any other system, as many children murdered, as now die of neglect in the foundling hospitals?* Is it to be supposed that, in the Venetian rural districts, 10,625 women could be found to part with their children, if the wheel of the foundling hospital did not present itself to them as a wheel of fortune? Let the whole execrable institution be abolished at once, and rely on the experience of other nations, that man has not yet sunk below the level of the beast, which feeds and cherishes its young! When we say, "This child is an orphan," we intend to express a condition of the deepest misfortune; yet

* Between the years 1823 and 1832 there were received into the foundling hospital of Pavia 3332 children, of whom 1415 died before entering the ninth year, (*Annali di Statistica*, LVI. 215) and 1139 within the first eighteen months. Other foundling hospitals present much more unfavourable results.

how happy must the orphan feel, in reflecting on its deceased parents, compared with the deserted foundling, whose parents, if it have any, must be criminal ones! How can a child grow up in a feeling of gratitude to laws that enticed his parents to abandon him? How can he confide in social institutions, that have torn from his heart all confidence in the simplest and most natural ties of nature?

LETTER IX.

Venice—Railroads—Schools.

Milan, April 13.

A CITY in the position of Venice naturally seeks consolation in hope; in this way there are at present four subjects that more particularly excite the public mind.

First, there are the harbour works at Malamocco, of the nature and object of which I have already spoken.

Secondly, the formation of a trading company in shares is contemplated, with a view to a direct trade to Asia and America.

Thirdly, the railroad to Milan. The fertile district through which it passes will make it necessary to pay a high price for the land; on the other

hand, however, the level ground offers few natural impediments, and the wealth of the population will make it easy to obtain the requisite capital.

Fourthly, the infant schools (*Scuole infantili di carità.*) There is no want in Venice of elementary schools for instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; but it has been found that they do little or nothing for moral instruction, and that young children are excluded altogether. The new infant schools repose on different principles.

Children are admitted between the ages of two and ten, and receive moral, religious, and intellectual instruction. They are taught in three classes. The course includes: Reading, writing, arithmetic, morals, religion, sacred history, and the Life of Jesus. The last, we are told, is illustrated "by engravings of well-drawn designs, that the eye may at an early age be accustomed to the beauty and harmony of art." Singing is taught, to form the ear and to strengthen the lungs, and gymnastic exercises, in order to promote the full development of the body. To obtain admittance, it is necessary to bring forward proofs of poverty, or to pay weekly twenty kreutzer. The children remain in the school in winter from eight to four, and in the summer from seven till eight. They receive two meals, consisting generally of soup made with rice, beans, barley, and potatoes. Meat is not given, because it would

be too expensive, and because experience has shown that children do not require it. The children have always preferred soup to bread, and the latter, therefore, is no longer offered them.

The expenses are covered by voluntary contributions, or by shares of a florin and a half each. The shareholders assemble under the presidency of a parish priest, and of a government deputy, to elect the directors, and give expression to their wishes and remarks. As soon as the children arrive at the age of ten, means are sought to obtain for them some useful and suitable occupation. Female teachers have been found preferable to male; and the younger more efficient than the elder ones. What the children speak, learn, and write, must be in pure Italian, but the explanations are mostly in the Venetian dialect. Four schools already contain 1000 children, and it is now in contemplation to establish a fifth, and to hire an entire palace for the purpose, at the yearly rent of 230 dollars.

Vice-delegate Baron Paskotini, and M. Grandis, a clergyman, the two persons who have done most towards the foundation and furtherance of these schools, showed me over one of them. The first appearance was in itself a gratification. One who has been accustomed to see Italian children, dirty, ragged, and crawling with vermin, may fancy himself transported into another country, when he sees

them clean in their persons, and tidily attired. Nor was it merely the uniform upper garment that was clean; the parents had been taught to consider it a point of honour to improve the rest of the costume likewise. It was equally gratifying to see that all the children looked ruddy, cheerful, and well fed; and to learn that punishments were seldom found requisite, and consisted merely in confinement to a particular place.

In spelling, the children acquitted themselves admirably; in arithmetic and calculation they also got on well; so also in their replies on the division of time, on the almanac, and on the parts of the human body, and their several uses.

They were all able to repeat the principal doctrines of christianity, according to the catholic form. It may admit of a doubt, whether certain tenets, which even the most powerful minds are unable to comprehend, should be taught to little children, who do not and cannot understand them; but to this it might be replied, that the child is quite as well able as the adult to comprehend many of these mysteries, and on this account it may be deemed expedient to convert these doctrines into almost innate ideas, and thus to take early precautions against the danger of scepticism.

Be this as it may, there cannot be a doubt that these schools work most favourably on the rising

generation; nay, in many cases, the parents themselves receive instruction through their children. The plea that it is ill-judged to separate the children from their parents for so many hours of the day is untenable. Did the schools not exist, they would not the less be separated from their parents, but they would be left to themselves, and would sink back again into their former habits of filth and sloth. Least of all have those a right to censure these infant schools, who do not hesitate to stand up in the defence of the foundling hospitals.

LETTER X.

Army and Navy of Austrian Italy.

Milan, April 14.

It is no part of my vocation, nor is this the place, to speak generally of the military institutions of Austria; still there are a few chief points which bear on the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom that deserve a brief notice.

Eight regiments of the line are levied out of the population. The time of service lasts eight years, and the conscripts are taken between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. Public officers, professors, clergymen, theological students, only sons of a deceased

father, seamen, &c. are exempted. Those of a sickly constitution, those below the standard size, and those who have forfeited their civic rights, are disqualified. As soon as the lists of classification have been drawn up, the rest is decided by lot. A substitute may be proposed, but in that case security must be given to the amount of 350 lire, or about 120 florins. No soldier can marry without permission. In Padua there exists an hospital for invalids. There is no military force similar to that of the German *landwehr*. The levy varies in different years, according to the exigencies of the public service. In 1822 it amounted to 3026 men, in 1827 to 3500, in 1828 to 3778, in 1829 to 2266, in 1830 to 2647, in 1831 to 12,400, in 1834 to 5900, in 1836 to 4610, in 1837 to 1924. Considering the population of the kingdom, which now exceeds four millions, the conscription is by no means oppressive; but men well qualified to give an opinion on such a subject seem to think that it would be better to shorten the time of service, to do away with the system of substitutes, and to organize a *landwehr*.

A few words yet about the navy of Austria. The Venetian arsenal, an astonishing monument of the greatness and activity of the republic, offers great facilities for the formation of a naval power. The opportunity has not been neglected. Building,

carpentering, forging, &c., are every where busily carried on, though without exceeding the bounds prescribed by considerations of prudence. The sailors (*corpo marinari*) amount in number to 2326 men, who are paid and clothed, according to the several classes into which they are divided. The marine artillery consists of 945 men. To these must be added a battalion of marines of 1276 men. The pay and rations are not so high when the men are on shore, as when they are afloat. The fleet at present consists of three frigates, two sloops, five brigs, and a large number of small vessels and gun-boats.

LETTER XI.

Journey from Venice to Milan—Verona—Brescia — Position of Milan—The Stradella Theatre—Cathedral—Marchesi.

Milan, April 12.

On Tuesday, the 9th of April, at eight in the evening, I embarked at Venice, and at six o'clock on Thursday morning I was once more in the *Bella Venezia*, that is to say, in the hotel so called at Milan. The passage from Venice to Fusina was, as it usually is, a period of torture. The post-boat is so close, the seat so narrow, the air so oppressive, that one can neither breathe nor stir hand or foot. The courier's carriage appeared a spacious

and convenient palace in comparison, and, as soon as I was fairly embarked in it, I began to make myself quite at home. I pulled off my boots, and put on my furred shoes, drawing my foot-bag over these, and taking upon the whole such precautions against the cold, that on this occasion I suffered no inconvenience from it. It is true there was a difference of ten degrees (22° F.) between the temperature of Bohemia in March, and that of Lombardy in April. On the morning of the 10th of April (my father's birthday) I felt, on awaking, like one who has just landed after a long sea-voyage, though there was not yet much to be said of the beauty of the landscape. The trees, particularly the closely-cropped mulberries, were still completely bare, and the vines hung about like grey cordage; but the young green wheat, the winding brooks, the dark hills in the foreground, and the snow-capped mountains in the distance, combined to form a cheering prospect, the whole of which was embellished on the evening of the 10th with a beautifully glowing Italian sky. The view of the Garda Lake, from Peschiera to Desenzano, reminded me of my first trip to Italy with Ludolf and Hermensdorf, and now, on my fourth visit to the country, I again find myself contemplating every well-known object with rising interest. From these romantic meditations my Italian travelling companion startled me by gravely asking

me whether Berlin did not belong to the Russians. I felt like one aroused from sleep by the report of a pistol, and the uncomfortable apprehensions of the future, thus forced upon my attention, made it for some time impossible to return to my agreeable dreams about the past. I was less startled by a robber story (a standing dish in Italy), in which my companion had himself played a part in the south of France. A robber stopped a diligence, and stripped all the travellers of their ready money, while eight of his comrades were seen behind some bushes with their muskets levelled. When the thief had secured his booty, it was found that the dreaded eight were merely scarecrows dressed up for the occasion.

In Verona, where extensive fortifications are in the course of erection, I ran hastily over the customary lions. I was just standing before the tombs of the Scaligeri, when an Italian offered to show me the way to them. To my natural reply he rejoined: "But the historical explanation!" At Brescia, in reply to my inquiry after the travellers' room, I was told by the waiter that there was none. To a second question after the locality of another apartment he answered, pointing to the courtyard, "*Da per tutto! S'accomodi dove vuole.*" I was the more astonished, on my arrival here, to find a complete arrangement *à l'Anglaise.*

After a journey of two nights and a day, I was well entitled to take some repose, but, instead of so doing, I walked about Milano la grande for five hours with my guide, and thus disposed of the greater part of my letters. At length, at half past three, I was just thinking about dinner, when I received an invitation from the government secretary, Czörnig, who knows Lombardy perhaps better than any other man, and is more communicative than the generality. In his society I soon forgot my fatigue, and commenced my stay in Milan under auspices as favourable as those of Trieste and Venice.

Tuesday, April 16.

Things proceed as they began. Everywhere I experience active kindness and a desire to oblige. So far a strong resemblance to Venice and Trieste, but in most other respects a marked difference. Milan stands in a sea of green trees and meadows, as Venice in a sea of green waters. In the latter every thing reminds you of the past, as the great and important period; here, on the contrary, the present is full of life, and all that belongs to antiquity, not excepting even the glorious cathedral, is thrown into the back-ground. The last-named building stands more detached than the Venetian St. Mark's, and appears to belong to the present quite as much as to a bygone period. Besides,

every thing reminds one here that Milan is a great central point of wealth and activity. No signs of decay, no unoccupied people, unless in the upper classes, where the possession of fortune invites to the *far niente*, which in Venice goes hand in hand with wretchedness and want. In Venice, and also in Verona, each house, each palace, is built according to individual fancy or convenience; the greatest variety of architecture, and the most wanton deviations from all law, order, or harmony. Large windows by the side of small ones, and seldom one window immediately over another. In Milan, on the contrary, every building is perfectly symmetrical, scrupulously kept in repair, no where is the least symptom to be seen of a poor or declining population. The question, so difficult of solution in Venice, how the decay is to be arrested, and whether it has reached its term, is here quite superfluous, so evident is every where the progress of improvement.

Milan is surrounded by broad ramparts, planted with large trees, and affording ever-varying prospects of the town, and over the country. Within, the cathedral, with its innumerable pinnacles, always forms the centre; without, the most beautiful view is towards the north; the mountains of Brianza, and those about the lake of Como, are still covered with snow, and contrast beautifully with the vast plains of Lombardy.

The pavement in the streets deserves to be mentioned. Not only are there side pavements of granite for the pedestrians, but in the middle also there are granite rails for the carriage-wheels to run along as easily as upon an iron railway, and with far less noise.

The finest weather, the purest azure sky, and, in the evening, a glorious blaze of stars, with leaves and blossoms breaking every where into life, invite one to walk abroad; yet here I sit, wrapped up in furs, though I cannot deny that the thermometer stood at ten degrees (54° F.) in the shade, and, on several days, when exposed to the sun, rose to 21° (79° F.), 24° (86° F.), nay, even to 33° (106° F.). It is necessary just now to be extremely cautious how one dresses not to catch cold.

I learn every day so much about the present condition of Lombardy, and fall into society with so many interesting people, that I shall pay my first visit to the theatre this evening. Donizetti's opera of Lammermoor was, however, no great attraction to me. Perhaps it will form the bill of fare for the evening; but I go chiefly to see the newly-decorated interior of the Scala.

Yesterday I went, for four groschen, to the day-theatre of the Stradella, where "the most renowned" August von Kotzebue's Johanna de Montfaucon was the piece performed. Much was not to

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be expected for the price. A few boys, ten or twelve years old, represented the guards, and the *prima donna* was a ship of the line in ordinary. Her declamation was the less calculated to excite my feelings, as I had not forgotten Unzelmann and Stich, and the thing was not bad enough to amuse as a burlesque. The whole performance, however, confirmed me in my old notion, that a drama, acted by daylight and by genuine artists, would exceed in effect all our conjurations of painted canvas, lamp-oil, and gas-light. In Venice and Verona I felt the same impression; and I still retain the conviction that the Greeks understood the accessories of the arts much better than we do.

The cathedral also has a greater allowance of sunshine now than it used to have. The windows have been washed and repaired; the floor, the columns, and the roof, have been cleaned. The building has gained in lightness, without losing any thing of its serious and imposing character. I only wish the front were not such a mixture of the gothic and the antique.

M. C—— took me on Sunday to see Marchesi, the sculptor, a man who certainly deserves great respect for the courage with which he has borne up against adverse circumstances. The building which contained all his models, and many of the works which had occupied his life, caught fire, and

very little was rescued from destruction. He had another built to suit his own ideas of fitness and convenience, and was beginning to fill it with his productions, when the roof fell in. Unsubdued by the recurrence of one of the greatest calamities that could have befallen an artist, he resumed his labours, and his present *atelier*, arranged expressly for the purposes of sculpture, is perhaps the largest and most suitable in the whole world. Yet he has already furnished it very tolerably with the most varied works of art, whereas, in Chantrey's large room in London, nothing is to be seen but the *semper idem* of prosaic English statues and monuments. What a contrast does not the indomitable courage of Marchesi offer to the puny vanity of Nourrit, who jumped out of window because somebody had hissed him! A French singer, to be sure, is not expected to complete a *monumentum ære perennius*. Marchesi, it must be owned, has been most liberally supported by government, and he is now engaged upon a work for the emperor, the model of which is already finished, and is one of the most magnificent that can be imagined. Religion is represented in an erect form, with a serious but mild expression, supporting the majestic body of Christ as it is sinking down, and presenting it for adoration. On one side, but a little in the background, is seen a mother, with three children of different

ages; the expression of countenance varies in each figure, but all are directed to Christ. The eldest child is kissing the foot, while the second is explaining to the youngest the meaning of what it sees. On the other side, a blind beggar, guided by two sisters, looks as though he would fain see, but cannot. The whole reposes on a high pediment adorned with wreaths, among which roses and passion-flowers predominate.

LETTER XII.

Milan—Archives—The Scala—Donizetti—Manzoni.

Milan, April 17.

As a matter of duty I repaired yesterday, provided with letters from Count H——, to the public Archives, which are under the management of Director Vigilezzi. The earliest manuscripts were of 1360, so I proceeded to the diplomatic archives, under the superintendence of M. Costa. A mass of authorities, many of them dating as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The catalogue, however, goes only to the beginning of the twelfth century, and shows that monastic diplomas alone are collected here, the eternal monotony of which horrifies me, even when I see them neatly printed before me; how much more when I find that I have harassed

my eyes and wasted my time in deciphering ill-written and half-decayed manuscripts, and have obtained only the most insignificant reward for my pains. Nothing but donations, confirmations of lands, permissions to wear a mitre or a glove, and matters of similar moment. I know these things by heart. After a few inspections, made chiefly with a view to the satisfaction of my conscience, I checked the zeal of the obliging keeper, and repaired to the Ambrosian library. Much may still lie concealed here; but for my purpose, I fear, little remains to be gleaned after Muratori and so many industrious Lombards, who have been here before me. The librarian, M. Catena, has, however, had a hint or two from me, and has promised to make a diligent search.

As I had devoted my morning to study, for conscience sake, I gave up my evening to the enjoyment of art, and from a similar motive. Fearful of not obtaining a good place, I went early to La Scala, and was, I believe, for the first time in my life, the first comer in a theatre. I had abundant time, therefore, to make my remarks. The Milanese boast a great deal of the size of the building, as the Neapolitans do of San Carlo; but has not this vast space its disadvantages? Six tier of boxes, one over another, with nothing but a bird's eye view from the upper ones! A countless succession of

boxes of perfect uniformity are in themselves an architectural defect. Few spectators are at a suitable distance; some are too near, and some too far off. The royal box is much smaller in proportion than that at Berlin, and the same remark applies to the space between the columns on the stage. A greater breadth would, in my opinion, give to the whole an appearance less narrow and compressed. The orchestra and chorus, owing to the eternal repetition of the same pieces, are well drilled. A strong bass voice, a soft tenor, and a soprano (Miss Kemble) admirable; but all sung with great effort, *sforzato*, which I always think disagreeable. The consequence is that even of the arias much is lost in the clamour of the orchestra, and the enormous space of the house. The music of Donizetti to this Luisa di Lammermoor is a mere series of pompous and inflated trivialities. To have a good view of the ballet I had seated myself near the front; but there I got among the pipes and trumpets, which worked away at such an unmerciful rate that I was at last glad to sacrifice the third act and the whole of the ballet, in order to obtain a little rest for my ears. I have here, in a few words, given you convincing proofs that I understand nothing about theatricals or music. My head was dizzy, and I was growing homesick. By way of curing myself, I began to think of nothing but university matters.

Thursday, April 18.

I might almost accuse myself of too great activity. At all events, I have no share in the *dolce far niente*. Things and men are continually crowding in upon me, and I disturbing their quiet in return. To-day, for instance, M. Czörnig called upon me at nine o'clock (I had been at work since half past five) and I had many matters of business to speak to him about; I then went to Count Pompeo Litta, the editor of the *Famiglie Italiane*, where we discussed historical topics; and where every thing was reviewed that has appeared of late years on Italian history. A visit to M. Vigliezzi, keeper of the archives, led to similar discussions, followed by others of a very different character at the house of M. Fortis, a silk manufacturer. I then went to M. Morbio, who had missed me at my hotel. In this gentleman, the author of a work on the cities of Italy, I found a young, well-informed man, full of enthusiasm for the history of his native country. He possesses great diplomatic collections, and communicated to me three letters from King Enzio, that have never yet been printed. Thence to Count M—, president of finance, from whom I obtained much valuable information on land-tax, customs, excise, rents of farms, regalia, and the like. One thing comes to clear up the head for another; there are times, however, when the huge mass of

information that pours in upon one, when the breaking of so many different waves, bid fair to bother a man's brain and make him lose sight of his landmarks.

April 19.

Manzoni leads so retired a life, and offers such determined resistance to those who would break in upon this privacy, that, during my former visits to Milan, I never attempted to seek his acquaintance. M. B—, who is married to an English lady, and to whom I had a letter from the English consul at Trieste, told me that I should be received if I called, and as M. B— could not go with me, I was accompanied by a Baron T—. I found Manzoni surrounded by his family, who did not, however, for a long time, join in our conversation. He is remarkably natural and simple in his manners; but speaks with great vivacity and fluency. As I had heard that he had written an unpublished essay against historical novels, (consequently against himself) I turned the conversation upon this subject, and undertook to defend this class of works. I maintained that a bad novel was a bad book, whether founded on history or not; but that a novel or drama reposed better and more firmly on such a foundation than on mere fiction.

Manzoni replied, that history and fiction went but ill together, soon disagreed, and never carried truth

along with them. The course which novel-writing had taken, he said, showed an increasing demand for truth, manifested by the wish of those who called either for pure history or pure fiction. To mix them only fostered prejudice and delusion. He himself had often been asked what was true and what was not true in the *Promessi Sposi?* and such a question he had always looked on as a reproach.

I thought myself at liberty to deny the accuracy of such an inference, and expressed a wish to know whether the *anonimo* did not represent an historical personage?

Manzoni replied in the affirmative, and reminded me of Göthe's reproach that there was too marked a distinction between the historical and the personal in the *Promessi Sposi;* whereas it had been his wish throughout to keep them asunder, so that there might be no possibility of confounding them.

To this I replied that, viewed with an artist's eye, and treated by an artist's hand, history and fiction both became truth, and that to me Don Abbondio was a much more living character than thousands of priests who might be seen running about. Shakspeare's Cæsar, I said, was more historical to me than the Cæsar of many manuals of history; and Homer I should be sorry to exchange for the historical osteology of all his works.

These, Manzoni said, were minds of so superior an order, that, with respect to them, he was ready to concede the point. He expatiated particularly on the unexampled impartiality of Shakspeare, and on his power to throw himself into each of his characters. Besides, the drama (the very form of which must resolve itself into historical narrative) was less calculated than a novel to injure the cause of truth. A glance or two at Schiller's Don Carlos and Maria Stuart led to some qualification of this judgment. This induced Manzoni to remark that the time and conditions of the Epic were gone by, and that a novel like Tom Jones, which confined itself to a portraiture of society and manners, was more true, intelligible, and attractive, than when it pretended to lead into a chaos of historical and mostly unknown facts.

Hereupon, I reminded him in how different a light the greatest and best known men had been placed by different authors, in works that passed for genuine history; that fiction and history therefore extended their joint influence every where.

The conversation next turned to the modern literature of France, a reign of terror which, in Manzoni's opinion, like that of 1793, must pass away. This opinion I supported by many examples that I was able to bring forward from my last visit to Paris. An Italian, who entered about

this time, was quite in despair about the *bons mots* which he had just heard most detestably sung in a new vaudeville. Here the ladies, as with us at home, joined in the conversation, and took the French players under their protection. The remark, that the French language was ill adapted for singing, led to a discussion on the dialects of Germany and Italy, which, as it was getting late, we were obliged to break off.

Manzoni has neither written nor published anything for a long time, which is attributed by many to his religious feelings. There may be some truth in this, for once, in the course of our conversation, he said:—"We must all come to theology at last." "Yes, in faith and love, but not in hate and dispute," was my reply. I am delighted to have made the acquaintance of this remarkable and amiable man, and the recollection of our interview will never be effaced from my memory.

LETTER XIII.

Milan—Viceroy's Palace—Triumphal Arch—The Emperor's Fête—Picture Gallery.

Milan, Saturday, April 21.

THREE days have again passed away without my finding leisure to gossip with you. I will lay the mosaic of the interval before you, in all pos-

sible brevity. On Thursday, in the forenoon, I went to the palace of the Viceroy, under the protection of M. C—. The building is large, and contains a vast multitude of rooms and halls, one of which is remarkably spacious, occupies two floors, and, when illuminated, on occasion of the emperor's last visit, excited universal admiration. The latter ought rather to be directed to the fresco paintings of Appiani, which can scarcely be distinguished from those in oil. If this be the highest possible praise, they fully deserve it; much more so than a painting by Hayez, for which he was paid 40,000 *zwanziger*, and which gives but a misty representation of the imperial coronation. I saw also a multitude of busts of Napoleon, his wife, Massena, Napoleon's throne, and similar objects; which (*Sic transit gloria*) had been consigned to a lumber-room, with old inkstands, candlesticks, &c.

Hereupon followed a long conversation with M. A— about schools and gymnasiums. While I was preparing to commit the results to paper, M. von M— called for me in his carriage, and took me to San Ambrogio, where I saw again many old things modernised. We then ascended the Arch of Triumph or Peace, which may very well challenge a comparison with that which bears the same name; and the six horses to the chariot, and the four with the heralds of victory at the four corners, form a

team, that can be matched nowhere. Add to this, the clear, dark azure sky, the green meadows, the yellow, blossoming rape, the snow-capped mountains afar off, and the truly balmy atmosphere.

On the 19th, the emperor's *fête* was celebrated with all due military and ecclesiastical pomp; with carpets and tapestries, organs, the firing of guns, equipages, and uniforms; something, in short, to gratify every variety of taste. A second visit to M—, when that able and learned man showed me his large historical library, and selected some books and manuscripts, which I have already begun to look into. M— is a great partisan of Austria, and has written an instructive work on the administration in the time of the Empress Maria Theresa, under Count Firmian. The publication is still delayed by motives which, it is to be hoped, will soon cease to operate.

I went to-day to the picture gallery in the Brera, and feasted my eyes on Luini, Crivelli, Francia, Montegna, Guido, and Raphael. Here I was again made sensible of the limited extent of my judgment. Pictures of a high order of excellence arrest my admiration; but a connoisseur ought to have a literary or artistical universality, of which I find no trace in myself. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* Why is not Waagen here to instruct my ignorance?

—— has heard that I have written a history of the Hohenstaufen, and wishes to see me again. You may judge from this, that my fame as an author is tapering away to a fine point. To-day I read in a literary notice that the history of the Swabian Emperors is "a magnificent subject, which no writer has yet treated in a manner worthy of it; but that there is now some hope of seeing justice done to it, one of the first geniuses of the day being engaged upon it." Of this "first genius," you know as much in Germany, as people know of me here. This is not, however, more mortifying than what was said to me by St— once in my own room, some time after the publication of my work. He would write the history of the Hohenstaufen, he said, "because nothing of any merit had yet been written on the subject." Things of this sort have their serious as well as their comic point of view. Is it not disheartening, after having devoted so many years of my life to the history of Italy, not to find one creature here who has ever read my book, or can assist me either in the way of censure or praise? The Ultramontane is the Barbary of Italy, an unknown, unexplored land. After all, I have the advantage of them; I, as an historian, know the Italian, the Italian knows nothing of the German. These little occurrences are salutary lessons of humility. At the same time, I have far less feeling

of proud self-satisfaction in my own works, than a consciousness that, whatever gratification I may derive from my labours, their results are without importance to others, or at best a mere makeshift for the day. The conviction that I have produced no work *ære perennius*, only increases my enjoyment of the studies I am now making for my own instruction on *modern* Italy. For myself, while living, I know no more attractive occupation; and hereafter it will be of little importance to me in what way my then obsolete books will be entered in those catalogues of lumber, ycleped histories of literature. Tieck wanted to take me in tow, or by an elaborate review to set me on my legs; but I shall not be buried standing, like a Jew; I shall be laid horizontally in my grave, like all honest Christians. Enough of this, I must return to my labour.

LETTER XIV.

Milan—Manzoni—The Ambrosian Library.

Milan, April 22.

YESTERDAY evening I paid another visit to Manzoni. In excuse, I pleaded his permission, and he in return made an apology for not having been aware that I was the author of the history of the Hohenstaufen. Our conversation turned to the

affairs of Cologne, on which point, as you know I am able, on mature conviction, to make many admissions in favour of the catholics; but yet it was only just that I should place the arguments on the other side in a fair light. Manzoni, however, is an unbending, uncompromising catholic, as must be the case where the *form* only is regarded, and the *spirit* held to be quite subordinate. There was only one real remedy, he said, against disorder, sedition, and the like, namely *authority;* and that could centre nowhere but in the pope, and in the principle of his infallibility. To rebel against, or deviate from, this principle was to sacrifice the great point of support, and general dissolution must be the consequence. The first duty of every one was to submit to authority.

This system may be followed out just as consistently as that opposed to it, which adopts as a leading principle, that a man is *not* to submit to authority, since in so doing he sacrifices his own freedom and independence. The one system leads to inquisition and autos da fè, the other to committees of public welfare.

The customary argument that the protestants are not agreed among themselves was dwelt on by Manzoni, who insisted on the necessity of at once condemning every heresy as a thing not to be tolerated or bargained with. It was right, therefore,

he said, at once to condemn the doctrines of Hermes, which the King of Prussia had wrongfully taken under his protection.

My reply was, that the King of Prussia had never dreamt, as Manzoni seemed to think, of fixing the dogmas of the catholic faith; but even in the Church of Rome, I added, there were deviations and anomalies, which, if followed out, could not be reconciled, as for instance, the systems of Thomas of Aquino and Duns Scotus, the development of which had been tolerated by the church. "The *greatest* deviations," rejoined Manzoni, "are none, if the main point be recognised, the smallest are damnable heresies if it be denied; that main point is the infallibility of the church, or rather of the Pope."

It was not difficult to show that many had recognised this infallibility by word of mouth and by their writings, and yet had completely estranged themselves from christianity; but Manzoni looks on the form as that which is most essential, and seems to regard the spirit as secondary. The recollection of some of the greatest and some of the worst of the popes could not but carry with it some weight, for, in state affairs, Manzoni does trace revolutions to the *spirit* of the government; but to the temporal power he allowed only a very inferior importance, and the de-

cay of civil authority he was always ready to attribute chiefly to a non-recognition of its just relation to the pope. Mixed marriages, he said, might increase the number of Catholics; but truth and justice must be asserted, independently of any ulterior consideration. I did not fail to remind him that each party believed that it had truth and justice on its own side, and that neither the civil nor ecclesiastical power had strength enough to extirpate opinions entertained by millions. From the above, you will perceive how Manzoni expressed himself, and that I made it my business, not so much to controvert him, as to lead him more and more to develop his own views.

We afterwards conversed at some length on the condition of the Italian peasantry, and about agrarian laws, and gradually came to poetry and theatricals. Manzoni has not been within a theatre for twenty years. He praised Goldoni's talent, but complained of the carelessness of his style. Speaking of Alfieri, he did not launch out into the cold rhetoric of praise, which appears to be but an echo of the poet's tragedies. Alfieri, he said, had been wrong in showing so marked a predilection for Latin subjects, and for translating everything into paganism, disregarding entirely the christian point of view and the modern development of human society. Thus, in the history of Virginia, the in-

terest of the Romans was excited by the idea of seeing a free-born woman enslaved. For the slave by birth they had no sympathy, whereas, christianity beheld the great evil in slavery itself, and cared less for the manner of it. My assertion, that the essence of christianity was wanting in no confession, Manzoni could not bring himself to admit, since authority would then be placed in a new position. We parted, however, in perfect kindness, with the closing words of Augustine, in which we both joined: *In omnibus caritas. Utinam!!*

This forenoon I strolled to the Ambrosian library. The librarian had been unable to find the statutes of Milan for 1216, but, in a volume of manuscripts that he had laid out for me, I found those very statutes myself, and made several valuable extracts. Among other matters I found that the *colonnado* and the system of farming land for half the produce was in existence even in that early period. A poor man, who could neither do battle himself nor pay for a champion in support of his cause before a court of law, enjoyed the *beneficium* of being thrown into the water, there to await the judgment of God.

Every man, like Achilles or Siegfried, has his vulnerable point. I had hitherto armed myself tolerably well against every attack of home-sickness; but to-day, passing a window, I saw a couple of gold fishes playing in the water, whereupon I was

seized with such a fit, that I forgot all the questions I intended to have asked my companion about the revenue and expenditure of the city of Milan.

LETTER XV.

Milan—Miss Kemble.

Milan, April 25.

In a few hours I shall set out for Turin, and now sit down to give you a few hasty details about the last few busy days of my stay here. I visited Miss Kemble, who is here with her father, whose kind reception of me in London I have not yet forgotten. She invited me to take tea with her in the evening, when, owing to pressing business, I was able to make only a short stay. Her singing is exceedingly improved, and her voice is very powerful. People nevertheless complain that it is not strong enough for the Scala; but where is the human voice that can, for any length of time, fill so vast a space, and rise above such an orchestra and such a clamour of tongues! All that with us would be deemed most extravagant in this respect is a mere trifle in comparison with what is here the order of the day.

LETTER XVI.

Milan—Cathedral—Journey from Milan to Turin.

Turin, April 27.

I send you, though from a different part of Italy, the continuation of my diary at Milan.

On Thursday I went to the Cathedral, and was again filled with admiration of its construction. The front, notwithstanding the defects and anomalies of style, is nevertheless imposing, and the interior magnificent, but on these points there are many other churches that may be compared with or even preferred to the Duomo of Milan. The roof, however, is unique. What elsewhere is considered only as a necessary and inevitable evil, has here been made the centre of a new world of art and beauty. What a multitude of arches, passages, arabesques, flowers, pinnacles, statues, bas-reliefs, &c.! Yet everything suited to the place, in perfect unity and harmony of style, with almost endless variety! It is to be regretted that the tower, evidently intended to have been carried to a much greater height, should so hastily have been terminated and shortened; and unqualified censure ought to be passed on the taste that could plant such a dog-kennel of a belfry in that world of wonders. The Milanese, who do so much to beautify their city, ought to wipe away such a disgrace, by pulling down the lumbering box. If a belfry be necessary, it ought

to be made to harmonise in art and beauty with the rest of the building.

At noon I started for Turin, provided with fresh letters of introduction from Count H—. The beautiful and highly cultivated plain made an agreeable impression, though vines and mulberry trees continued to wear a wintry look. Among our companions were two ladies, one old and the other young; both were lively and talkative, but I found it sometimes impossible to follow them in their Piedmontese dialect, which they chiefly used, and in which they made themselves extremely merry at the expense of the *patois* of Milan. Thus I have already made acquaintance with three sorts of Italian: Venetian, Milanese, and Piedmontese; but what is taught us foreigners is a fourth and a very different language. Even educated persons, who endeavour to speak pure Italian, when conversing with a stranger, say *piü* for *piu*, *tan* for *tanto*, *comun* for *comune*, *ca* for *casa*, *nessün* for *nessuno*, &c. I have heard only one man, President M—. speak such Italian as sounded like music.

Two gentlemen in the carriage agreed with one another, as to the utility and delight of tobacco-smoking, and made their overtures to the ladies in such a form that the latter had not the courage to resist. The question was then put to me, as a matter of form, my consent being reckoned on as a

matter of course. Their arms were already presented, but I mustered courage, and declared, though I had no objection to tobacco-smoke myself, I would not allow, when ladies were in the carriage, their consent to be extorted by a few civil words. "Then you set yourself up," said one of the gentlemen, "as a Knight of the Round Table, and a champion of the ladies?" "Yes," was my blunt reply; "let those who wish to smoke take their places in the cabriolet or the rotunda." The two gentlemen took the hint, and exchanged places with less zealous smokers.

The bridge across the Ticeno, on the frontier between Piedmont and the Milanese, is a splendid work. This is succeeded by a long tract of barren stony country, that looks even more dismal than our sand. In Novara I ate a good supper, but spent an uncomfortable night after it. The new Piedmontese coach was much too small for six persons. We could not stir either hand or foot, without pushing against one another, and sleep under such circumstances was out of the question. At daybreak all looked gloomy; the rain was pouring down in torrents, and there was no comfort either within or without. Accordingly, on my arrival at the Feder Hotel, I resolved to indulge my exhausted body with a little repose; but scarcely had I unpacked the needful articles, and set my room a

little in order, when the sky cleared up, and the resolution to abandon myself to the *dolce* or *amaro far niente* vanished at once. From half-past ten till half-past four, I walked about, paying visits, delivering letters, and making myself acquainted with different parts of the town; and when, at the end of one of the streets, I recognised the Alps, I hastened out, and feasted my eyes once more in the contemplation of the noble circle of mountains, amidst which Turin is situated. It may well be doubted whether any other city is so nearly surrounded by such a girdle as Turin.

LETTER XVII.

Former condition of Lombardy—Merit of the Austrian Government—Maria Theresa—Count Firmian—Extent and Division of the Country—The Viceroy—The Governor—The Departments of Government, Finance, and Jurisprudence.

Milan, April 16.

MANY people who live to the north of the Alps picture Italy to themselves as one great connected whole, in a natural point of view. Some, who know the country better, divide it into three parts, the north, the middle, and south; the first extending to the Appennines, the second to Terracina, and the mountains that lie between Naples and the Papal territory. Although there are good reasons for this

division, it by no means indicates or exhausts the great variety of existing relations. The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, for instance, includes diversities and contrasts of every kind, from the Venetian lagoons to the most elevated mountains of Europe. The duchy of Milan alone contains within itself every possible gradation, swampy rice fields, marshy meadows, fertile plains, gentle hills, and icy mountains. To this natural characteristic is to be attributed the variety in the cultivation of the land, the vines and the silkworm, as well as the rearing of cattle. To this must be added a great difference in the social condition of the inhabitants; in the extent of estates; in the poverty of some places and the wealth of others; in the usages relating to property, quit-rents, the size of farms, and the terms on which land is let. On these points more hereafter; for the present they may serve as a warning not to indulge in general expressions of praise or blame, and not to judge of an existing state of things by abstract and inflexible rules.

Prejudices corresponding with those here alluded to are also met with when we come upon the ground of history. To take, for instance, merely the duchy of Milan, or, properly speaking, Lombardy. In the time of the Hohenstaufen, this country displayed admirable energy and a noble resistance. The preponderance, however, which

Frederick I. and Frederick II. strove to assert, grounding their pretensions upon ancient imperial rights, was not more marked than that which Milan daily exercised with respect to Lodi and other cities. Even within its own walls there prevailed but too often the violence of faction and the spirit of persecution, till at length anarchy paved the way for the despotism of the Visconti and Sforza. Those times, no doubt, had their advantages. The spirit and activity of the Lombards continued in full play; but this reflection only excites our indignation the more, when we read how such a people was imposed upon. Then followed the worst period, that of Spanish governors, when the country was treated in a spirit of selfishness and absurdity. Lombardy, though favoured by nature more, perhaps, than any other country, became poorer and poorer, and the population decreased in consequence of the numbers who emigrated from their country in search of a subsistence to less favoured climes. Had the Milanese, in imitation of the Dutch, expelled such rulers as those, where is the man that would have blamed them for it?

The Austrian domination was an evident and undeniable improvement, and much of the good that many now attribute to the French revolution had been carried out long previously, in her Italian dominions, by the mild but energetic hand of Maria

Theresa. In her reign, for instance, most of the feudal tenures and private jurisdictions were abolished; equal taxation and an equal administration of the laws were introduced; the communal institutions were rendered more liberal; the excessive privileges of the clergy were curtailed, corporations done away with, &c. With respect to all these points the French arrived *post festum*; but their system differed from that of the empress in this: they nowhere showed the least regard for local circumstances or national predilections, and squandered the accumulations of centuries, to dazzle the vulgar by heightening the splendour of a day. Their plan succeeded, but only for a while, and the after-pains were certain to follow. I can sympathize with the dreams, hopes, and wishes, which many, in their well-meant enthusiasm, encourage, in favour of a total independence of Italy from every foreign influences; I can respect them also, provided no recourse be had to criminal means, for the attainment of ends supposed to be laudable; but, in sober truth, the unprejudiced observer can scarcely resist the conviction that, all things considered, Lombardy has never been so well governed as now under the paternal sceptre of Austria; that she has never been so wealthy, populous, well-educated, civilized, and truly christian. Which among the by-gone periods can the Lombards wish back

again? That of the Hohenstaufen, that of the Visconti, that of the Spaniards, that of the Republic, or that of the incorporation of many of its provinces with the *grand empire?* But for the servile dependence on France, the kingdom of Italy would appear in a favourable light; Paris, however, at that time, exercised an ascendency much more strongly marked than Vienna does now, and Lombardy had to make serious sacrifices for the furtherance of foreign views. The good that was done was mainly due to the able Italian functionaries, on whom Austria continues to place such reliance, that few Germans obtain appointments in Italy; not more, certainly, than there may be of Italians holding office in Vienna. Whether too many points be referred for decision to the capital is a question that cannot easily be answered without an exact knowledge of facts; but the Austrian system of government is of all others the most opposed to centralization: this is more than sufficiently shown by the administration and constitution of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

It is placed under the government of the viceroy, the Archduke Rainer, and is divided into two governments: that of Venice, and that of Lombardy.

The former contains 8 provinces, 93 districts, and 814 communes; the latter, 9 provinces, 127 districts, and 2226 communes.

All reports from the governors are referred for immediate decision to the viceroy, or through him to Vienna, and all decisions received thence pass through his hands. His privileges are very extensive. He has the appointment of a great number of public officers, the Vienna government interfering only in matters of general importance, but leaving all local affairs to the management of the local authorities. The viceroy is easy of personal access to all, and shows on such occasions the intelligent affability and sympathizing condescension by which so many members of the house of Habsburg have known how to win the hearts of those who approached them.

Till the year 1830, the governor performed at once the functions of a President of the Interior and of the Finances; the former as the head of the government, the latter in consequence of presiding in the Finance Senate. Many affairs he could dispose of on his own responsibility, others were subject to a previous discussion, and some had to be referred to Vienna. Among the last were new laws, an authentic interpretation of those already existing, the creation of new offices, changes in the system of taxation, alterations in the post-office arrangements, cutting and selling timber beyond a certain extent, &c.*

* Law of 1819, respecting the formation of the Finance Senate.

Many matters, which might be looked upon as bearing on both departments, came for discussion before the financial and the political senate. When the assembly was divided, the governor had a casting vote; but, even if he were left in a minority, he might often reserve to himself the right of appealing to the higher authorities in Vienna.

These arrangements were materially altered by a law of the 1st of August, 1830, when the finance department was entirely withdrawn from the governor's control, and established under the name of the *magistrato camerale*. The President receives a salary of 6000 florins, the members from 2 to 3000 each. Reports to the higher authorities continue to be made on nearly the same matters as formerly. The law says: "The duty of the new court is, in all its affairs, to look upon all matters in a strictly financial point of view; to endeavour to find how, consistently with the efficiency of the administration, the largest revenue may be obtained, and the smallest expenditure incurred." In another place the law says: "The motive that led to the constitution of this new court was the wish to keep the management of the finances distinct from every other branch of the public administration."

In every province there is a delegation under the governor, and an intendancy under the finance court. The two authorities are entirely separate

from each other, and are subject to different chiefs. The delegate forms the provincial authority for all matters of government, and has under him particular officers for scientific and other departments. The *magistrato camerale* and the intendant have under their control the indirect (not the direct) taxes, customs, stamps, crown lands, forests, government monopolies, &c.; every other department of civil government belongs to the governor and the delegation. The intendant may, of his own accord, grant certain leases, consent to delays, appoint minor officers, select retailers for the government monopolies, grant leave of absence, &c.

Opinions are much divided as to the value of these changes. Most of the persons qualified to judge with whom I spoke gave the preference to the old system of administration, and with our experience in Prussia we must be disposed to coincide with them. We might say with them: "In modern times it is, indeed, necessary that, in a large state, the several administrations, or departments, should be severed from each other, but they must all have a guiding centre to keep them in harmony with one another. If, even in separate provinces, the functions of government are broken up into fragments, we shall have but a disjointed building. The injunction, "to look from a financial point of view only on all matters under con-

sideration" is a highly dangerous one; it reminds one of the French rather than the Austrian system; of an abstract, anatomical division of powers, the very reverse of a living authority that acts as with one mind. It may be much more necessary to remind public officers that they are co-operating to one common end, than to try to make them forget this. The minister of commerce must not forget that taxes are indispensable to a government, nor the minister of finance that excessive taxation is destructive to trade; the minister of police should remember that his office was instituted for the security of personal liberty, the minister of justice that the privileges of the state are as much law as the rights of private individuals."

On the other hand, some argue thus: "Many local circumstances rendered these arrangements necessary. They have certainly had the effect of increasing the public revenue, and the partial spirit, respecting which so much apprehension has been expressed, is avoided by a general understanding between the government and finance departments, or by the decision of the viceroy."

In the principal town of every province there is a court of first instance for civil and criminal affairs; in Milan and Venice there are courts of appeal, and at Verona, a high court of revision. In every legal dispute there are two instances. A second appeal

can take place only when there has been a difference of opinion between the courts below, or an evident infringement of right. In such a case, the third tribunal decides likewise on the substance of the question. In all suits of divorce, also, there are two appeals. In some towns, in addition to the court of first instance, there is a *pretore urbano*, usually a member of the court, whose office it is to mediate in any cases, and endeavour to bring about an amicable arrangement. Among the cases that come under his cognizance are disputes about rent, or with servants, trifling insults, pecuniary claims of a small amount, &c. In the country the *pretore forese* has nearly the same functions as the court of first instance has in the towns. From the decision of the *pretore* there is always an appeal. The courts of first instance have authority, likewise, in fiscal and commercial questions, courts of commerce existing only in Milan and Venice. The highest court of justice has the superintendence of the other courts and of the bar. Oral pleadings are permitted only before the *pretore*, who then takes notes of the proceedings before him. Trial by jury has never yet been introduced.

Criminal proceedings pass through nearly the same stages as civil matters. In some cases the trial may be carried by appeal before the second and third court, according to the enormity of the

crime, the extent of the punishment, or the nature of the evidence and extenuating circumstances. The *pretore foresc* interferes immediately on the commission of a crime, and afterwards proceeds to carry the instruction of the court into effect. The higher court, in case of appeal, may confirm, mitigate, or aggravate the sentence of the court below. A sentence of death, or imprisonment for life, must always be sent up for confirmation to the court of revision at Verona. Political offences are mostly referred to Vienna. Any one about to be appointed a member of one of these courts has to undergo two very strict examinations before the court of appeal. The promptness and impartiality of the tribunals of justice, as now constituted, are generally commended, and seldom without a not very flattering comparison with things as they formerly were. The Austrian forms and codes have everywhere been substituted for those of France.

LETTER XVIII.

Lombardy—Taxation—Commercial Institutions—Chambers of Commerce—Rural Assemblies—Central Assembly.

Milan, April 18.

When the Austrian system of administration is compared with that of France, two important distinctions immediately strike the attentive observer,

both greatly to the advantage of the former. In the first place, the public officers of Austria, being much more vigilantly superintended, cannot allow themselves equally arbitrary abuses of power; and, secondly, they are, nevertheless, much more secure and independent in their positions, because they are not liable, like those of France, to be summarily dismissed without trial or inquiry. This power of dismissing public servants may be a *necessary* evil in France, but it is not the less an *evil*; on the contrary, it is in itself a symptom of yet greater evils, for the government is forced to act the tyrant on this point, or, owing to the limited powers given by the constitution, the executive would inspire no respect, and meet with no obedience.

With the administration of Lombardy, the constitution of the communes, towns, districts, and provinces, as well as the whole system of taxation, are intimately connected.*

Taxation and public law are certain to develop themselves simultaneously, unless some superior power interferes to prevent this. So early as the year 1248, Milan drew up a register of taxation, which was warmly opposed, on account of its aim-

* M. Czörnig, to whom I am indebted for much of the following information, has it in contemplation to publish a work on the Statistics of Lombardy, which will be found well entitled to public attention.

ing at the extension of the liability to payment. In the fifteenth century we find a tax on salt and horses, which often assumed the form of a personal tax, and with respect to which the commune at large was considered responsible, the government troubling itself very little about the personal distribution of the burden. The exigences of Charles V. forced him to impose a new tax, which amounted monthly to 25,000 florins of gold. An attempt was made to distribute this in the shape of a land-tax, but, as none but very general directions were ever given, the consequence was that it sometimes assumed the shape of an additional tax on salt and horses, and sometimes was levied in the form of a land and poll-tax. In the several cities the sum was generally raised by a consumption tax on salt, flour, and meat. In 1564 a beginning was made with a general valuation of real property, and with an estimate of trade by means of statements of the amount of goods imported. The principles acted on were, however, so unsettled, and the anomalies, difficulties, exceptions, and arbitrary acts, so numerous, that nothing of any real value was effected till towards the end of the sixteenth century. At the same time, the whole communal system fell to pieces, and the rural districts had to suffer much more than the towns from undue burdens. All complaints to the Spanish court of folly, despotism,

confusion, oppression, decay, and insolvency, remained unnoticed, and it was thought an act of great favour and an important reform, when permission was given to indebted communes and individuals to make a partial bankruptcy, by reducing the interest to which they were liable. At the same time, the state revenues were gradually pledged or sold, and such became the distresses of government that the transfer of Lombardy to Austria was an important relief to the whole country. It was not without great efforts that a general registration, with a view to the land-tax, could be effected.

With this registration the communal system of Maria Theresa, of the 30th of December, 1755, was intimately connected. By this law of 1755, all the proprietors registered as liable to the land-tax formed the assembly, or *convocato*, of the commune, with the right of deliberating and deciding on all the economical interests of the community. This assembly elected yearly three deputies, one from among the most heavily taxed, and the two others from among the landowners generally. A fourth deputy was elected by the inhabitants who were not landowners; and a fifth by those in trade. The two last-named attended to the rights of their constituents, as far as the personal tax and the tax on trades and possessions were concerned. The first three, however, form alone the *rappresentanza* of the commune, with the right of managing its funds,

on being confirmed by government. Soldiers and ecclesiastics are not eligible, because not immediately dependent on the civil tribunals. In addition to the *deputati*, there were also, wherever it was thought necessary, a *console*, or constable, and a syndic.

The principle that the commune should choose its own officers and manage its own property remained in full force till 1796, and the government did not, meanwhile, make any unreasonable use of its right of superintending and confirming those officers. The French, under the pretence of giving greater extension to public liberty, destroyed all these efficient government institutions, substituted empty forms, made every function of government emanate from a central power, and, at last, prohibited every kind of communal association, that the *atomism* of their system of government might remain undisturbed, and that nothing more firm or comprehensive might be organized in its place. The description given by Trouvé, the French plenipotentiary*, of the condition of the Cisalpine re-

* Among other things, he says: "A government without means or vigour, equally powerless to do good or prevent evil, a corrupt administration, a military establishment enormously expensive, yet wholly inefficient, a total disorganization of the finances, no republican institutions, no public education, no connection in the civil laws, everywhere disobedience, carelessness, and impunity for those who waste the public money: in a word, the most complete and hideous anarchy—such is the picture of the Cisalpine Republic."

public, presents a picture of anarchy and tyranny so revolting that the return of the Austrians, and with them the re-establishment of the old communal law, could not but be regarded as highly fortunate for the whole country. When the Austrians were again driven out, the new government retained the greater part of their system, and shewed itself much more intelligent, orderly, and national, than that which had borne the name of a republic. As it is not, however, my intention to say more of the past than is necessary for understanding the present, I will now proceed to explain the existing state of things.

The communes are divided into rural and urban, and the latter are again subdivided, as I shall presently explain. There are, in the government of

Venice,	in Milan,	
315	1783	rural communes with assemblies of land-owners, (*convocato*), and a deputation;
483	432	with councillors, (*consigli*), and a deputation, but with differing systems for the management of their affairs; and
17	13	with urban magistrates and councillors.

If a rural commune contains more than 300 pro-

prietors paying taxes, a council (*consiglio*), must be chosen; if it contains more than 100, the *convocato* may apply to have a *consiglio* introduced in its place. Every landowner, liable to the tax, whether his property be large or small, belongs to the *convocato*, and has the right to ballot at an election. Ecclesiastics and public officers are excluded. Jews can hold no communal offices, but may ballot at an election. The *convocato* meets regularly twice a year, and more frequently if convoked by the delegate and district commissary. These assemblies have the right:

1. To elect three *deputati*, for the management of the communal concerns during three years. A fourth deputy is only occasionally consulted, in matters relating to the personal tax. The fifth, for the trading part of the community, is now no longer chosen, on account of the altered manner of levying the tax on trades and professions.

2. To make up, or at least examine, the register according to which the personal tax is to be levied.

3. To compare the estimate of the future revenue and expenditure of the commune, and to receive from the deputies an account of their administration while in office.

4. To discuss and determine on matters relating to communal property and communal officers, and on all subjects that bear immediately on their common interests.

The oldest proprietor presides in the *convocato*. The deputies are present, and so also is the influential district council. If a difference arises between the *convocato* and the deputies of the commune, the question must be referred to the provincial assembly, and thence for decision to the delegate, who likewise presides in that assembly. No *convocato* can deliberate, unless there be at least eight persons present, including the deputies.

The *consiglio comunale* is for the town what the *convocato* is for the rural commune. In Milan and Venice, it consists of sixty members; in the royal cities, as they are called, or chief places of provinces, (*capi luoghi*), of forty; and, in the inferior towns, of thirty members. Two-thirds of these must be owners of real property; the remaining third may be composed of other respectable inhabitants, such as merchants, manufacturers, &c. The said owners of real property must be chosen from among the hundred most heavily taxed, and must, in Milan and Venice, be entered on the register as possessing to the value of at least 2000 scudi. Neither a retail trader, nor one receiving a salary from the town, can be a member of the council. In the first instance the council was appointed by government. Since then, one third of the members retire every year, but may be re-elected. This election takes place in the following manner: the council draws

up a list, containing twice as many names as there are vacancies to be filled; this list is placed before the provincial assembly, by whom the selection is made, after which it requires to be confirmed by the delegation. The council chooses its own president, and decides every question by ballot, in presence of at least one third of its members. Its functions, with respect to the town, are the same as those of the *convocato* in the rural commune.

The council prepares a list of three names, from which the government selects the *podesta*, or burgomaster. The magistrates, in number from four to six, according to the size of a town, are also chosen by the council, but must likewise be confirmed by the government. They are chosen for three years, two thirds from among the owners of real property. In the assembly of magistrates, (*congregazione municipale*), a majority of votes decides, but an appeal lies from the decision to the provincial assembly, or *congregazione provinciale*, and to the delegation. All accounts must go to the provincial assembly and the delegates. These have no right to direct any expenditure not sanctioned by the *convocato* and *consiglio*. An imposition of not more than four centimes per scudo may be confirmed by the delegate; if it exceed that rate, it must be referred to the governor, and, in the case of Milan, Venice, or of a royal city, to the viceroy.

Open places supply their own means by an addition to the land and personal tax; the towns by an addition to the taxes on consumption.

In Milan and Venice the podesta receives a salary, but in other cities the services of the podesta, and those of the city councillors or *assessori*, are given gratuitously.

In the capital of each province there exists a Chamber of Commerce, composed of from four to twelve members, who are proposed by the delegate, from among the merchants and manufacturers, and confirmed by the governor. They are to collect information respecting the state of trade, point out impediments, submit proposals for improvements, &c. The delegate presides *ex officio* in the Chamber of Commerce.

In every province there is a *congregazione provinciale*, of four, six, or eight members, selected from among the landowners possessing property to the extent of at least 2000 scudi. These are joined by a deputy from each royal city. The communes propose candidates, from among whom the provincial congregation or assembly select a treble list, out of which the central congregation again make a selection, and the persons so selected, if confirmed by government, remain three years in office. The members of the provincial assembly receive no salary. Their functions extend to the collection of

the public revenue, the administration of the communal property, the repair of roads and canals, the civil branch of the military administration, the superintendence of public charities, and of all other matters immediately connected with the welfare of the province. On all these subjects they are authorized to address proposals directly to the government.

The central congregation is, for the two governments of Venice and Milan, what the provincial congregation is for each province. It is likewise formed of two thirds of landowners and one third of deputies from the towns. The qualification of a member consists in the possession of land to the value of at least 4000 scudi. Ecclesiastics, public officers, and those not belonging to a Christian confession, are ineligible. The candidates are first proposed by the communes; a treble list is prepared by the provincial congregation, from which the members are selected by government, and remain in office for six years, during which time they receive salaries of 2000 florins. Candidates for the deputation from the cities are proposed by the cities. These central assemblies are to examine questions of a higher importance connected with the public revenue and communal interests; to make a repartition of the war taxes; to superintend the public works connected with roads, rivers, and charitable

institutions; to suggest measures to government for the benefit of the country; and, if their suggestions are not attended to, they have the right of addressing their remonstrances to the emperor in person.

This brief sketch of the remarkable institutions of Lombardy might be enlarged by a multitude of remarks and explanations. I shall confine myself to a very small number.

Firstly—The Austrian government has, indeed, reserved to itself the control of communal affairs, and the right of confirming elections; but I have been assured that this confirmation is scarcely ever refused, nor has government ever imposed taxes on the communes for communal purposes, but has always awaited the voluntary imposition of the necessary burdens by the inhabitants themselves.

Secondly—The principle that every owner of land sits and votes in the *convocato* carries with it an appearance of democracy, and reminds one of the often agitated topic of universal suffrage. In point of fact, however, these assemblies are seldom numerously attended, and when they are, they generally elect a committee (*consiglio*) for the discharge of business. The *convocato* consists generally of twenty or thirty members present; 100 or 150 is an unusually large number, and the first deputy selected from among the most highly taxed always exercises a very great influence.

Thirdly—On the other hand, the practice of not leaving it to the citizens at large to choose their *consigli*, but supplying all vacant places from among candidates proposed by the body itself, and confirmed by the government, is certainly of an aristocratic, if not of an oligarchical character.

Fourthly — Whether the many gradations of council, magistracy, provincial congregation, delegation, central congregation, governor, and viceroy, be not calculated to retard public business by making its course more intricate, is a question, to decide which more than merely superficial knowledge is requisite. A good deal, however, is shortened by making the delegate preside in the provincial and the governor in the central congregation. I shall not attempt a solution of the doubt raised by many, particularly in Venice, whether the central congregations ever manifest much activity in the exercise of their functions. The idea was certainly a good one, of placing by the side of every grade of administration, from the commune up to the viceroyalty, a co-operating, or, as we should now say, a constitutional body, and thereby awakening public spirit. That this result has been attained is shown.

Fifthly—By the circumstance that wealthy individuals are everywhere found, willing to take upon themselves gratuitously the functions of podesta,

and that they very quickly acquire the knowledge of business necessary to the proper discharge of their functions. Genuine patriotism, and an interest in the welfare of their several towns, tend materially to cause this gratifying state of things; much, however, is owing to the shortness of the period of office, the wealth of individuals, and the marks of distinction and reward which the government very judiciously distributes among the ablest of these local authorities.

LETTER XIX.

Lombardy—Population.

Milan, April 20.

In my last letter I communicated many particulars about the way in which the people of Lombardy are governed and participate in the government; to-day I will enter into a few details relative to the state and progress of the population.

The population amounted:—

	In 1824.	In 1838.
In the government of Venice to.....	1,894,000	2,094,000
In the government of Milan to.....	2,194,000	2,474,000

The increase, therefore, in 14 years, has been about 12 per cent. A greater increase has, in some measure, been prevented by the cholera, and is, indeed, scarcely possible, in a country already so densely peopled. Thus upon the chilometre (1000 square metres) we have in Siberia, 2 inhabitants; in France, 60; in Great Britain and Ireland, 76½; in Belgium, 125; in the Milanese, 115; and, if the mountainous and barren tracts are left out of the account, we have even as many as 151 inhabitants to the chilometre. This population is very unequally distributed; in some parts of the Milanese there are only 7, and in others 1707 to the chilometre. This difference is owing partly to the natural circumstances of different localities, partly to the vicinity of large towns. Thus the district of Milan is the most populous of all, containing 95,000 inhabitants to the German square mile, whereas Bormio and Chiavenna, the least populous, contain only 400. In these districts, however, there are not fewer than twenty mountains more than 7,000 feet in height, where the cultivation of the land and the growth of articles of human subsistence are impracticable. Excluding the mountainous portions, these districts contain 9,300 inhabitants to the (geographical) square mile.

Milan, in 1824, contained 129,000 inhabitants;

it now contains 155,000. Bergamo and Brescia contain each 30,000. About one seventh of the whole population live in cities; the rural population, for the most part, do not dwell together in villages, but in scattered habitations, politically united by the administrative idea of the commune. There are 41 communes, containing more than 5,000 inhabitants, 175 containing between 2,000 and 5,000. Nearly three-fourths of the whole population live in the smaller towns and communes of less than 2,000 inhabitants; one ninth in those containing between 2,000 and 5,000; one fortieth in those containing between 5,000 and 15,000; and one eighth in the large towns.

For every 100 males in the Milanese, there are 99 females. Of every 100 inhabitants 51·7 are under, and 48·3 above twenty-five years of age. Of the males—

30·52	per cent. are under the age of		14
11·87	..... between the ages of	15 &	20
9·32	.....	21	25
36·80	.....	26	60
11·49	..... above		60

Each family, on an average, consists of 5 individuals, for every 8¼ inhabitants there is one house, for every 63, there are 13 married couples. In the

plain the marriages are proportionably more numerous than among the hills. Two thirds of all marriages are contracted before the 30th year. For every 1000 inhabitants, there are annually 41 births, and for every 100 female, there are 107·4 male births. Every marriage produces, on an average, 4·47 children, and where the average number of marriages is greatest, there the average number of children is least. One child in 100 is still-born, and 18 males for every 10 females. The births exceed the deaths at the rate of 119 to 100. Before the fourth year, there died in Brescia 40 per cent.; in Cremona, 51; and in all Lombardy, 47. The general mortality was at the rate of 34 for every 1,000 inhabitants, and greater in the rural districts than in the towns, owing chiefly to greater poverty and privation. In the mountainous districts, however, the mortality has generally been less than in the plains.

A continued decrease of population may generally be taken as a symptom of decay; an increase, on the other hand, is not always a proof of growing prosperity; of this we have bitter experience in the case of Ireland.

M. Quadrio's diligent inquiries have ascertained that in the Venetian government there is—

One nobleman ..... for every 587 inhabitants.
One public officer 126

One scholar or student for every 27 inhabitants
One ecclesiastic 216
One merchant 36
One artist 19
One agriculturist..... 2
One seaman..... 241
One fisherman..... 224
One pauper..... 26
One prisoner 813
One foundling..... 321
And one foundling in..... 46 births.

LETTER XX.

Lombardy—Land-Tax—Registration—Tax on Trades—Poll-Tax—Revenue and Expenditure of the City of Milan.

Milan, April 21.

In my letter of the 18th, I reminded you of the connexion almost every where existing between the form of government and the system of taxation; to-day I will enter more into details on the subject of direct taxes, more particularly of the land-tax.

Soon after the occupation of Milan by the Austrians, a new board was instituted in 1718, to prepare a new registration, (*giunta del censimento*) that which previously existed having been found wholly undeserving of the name, and guilty of the

greatest contradictions and constant injustice. New measurements were undertaken, maps drawn up, estimates made, witnesses heard, titles and leases compared, and every matter closely investigated. The differences of soil were taken into consideration, as likewise the average produce, expense, and casualties, the usual prices of corn, &c., and according to the result of these investigations, the value of each estate was fixed, the net rents or proceeds being calculated at the rate of 4 per cent. on the capital. Church property acquired previously to 1575 remained exempt from the tax. Since 1760, the land-tax has always been levied according to the valuation then made.

A second investigation was for the purpose of fixing the tax on trades, (*tassa del mercimonio*) which was to amount to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the capital employed; but, in point of fact, the tax did not amount to more than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; mechanics, who were not supposed to embark their own capital in their trades, such as smiths, tailors, &c., were exempt. This fluctuating tax was afterwards converted into a fixed one, and divided into six classes.

In the Venetian districts there existed old and most imperfect valuations of land, on which the land-tax, (*terratico*) was yearly fixed, according to a most intricate system. On the occupation of the French, the tax was augmented, and imposed on

different principles; but in so precipitate, arbitrary, and unequal a manner, as to give rise to daily increasing complaints, making a new land-registration indispensable. This is now nearly complete, and if the work of Maria Theresa were praiseworthy for her time, and the first of its kind, that now in progress displays such admirable care and precision, that the only question is whether they have not been carried to an unnecessary extreme.

Since 1815, though not without occasional interruptions, a great many persons have been engaged upon this work; and May, 1828, has been adopted as the standard for the cadastration. It extends to all parts of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, not included in the Milanese registry, consequently to all districts formerly Venetian, and likewise to the Valteline. The maps exceed in accuracy and completeness all that has ever before been produced of the kind. In the measurement, metric roods (*pertiche metriche*, of 280 square fathoms of Vienna) have every where been adopted, and, in the valuation, Austrian lire. The valuation is guided by the amount of every kind of produce in ordinary years, and under the ordinary system of cultivation. The average prices from 1823 to 1825 are taken as a guide, regard being had to local circumstances, distance from markets, greater or less value of the articles produced. The expenses are deducted

from the gross receipts and calculated according to the system of farming, irrigation, &c. To allow for casualties, from $\frac{1}{9}$ to $\frac{1}{7}$ is deducted from the net proceeds for corn, $\frac{1}{7}$ for flax, chestnuts, and olives, $\frac{1}{13}$ for hay, $\frac{1}{18}$ for wood. For buildings there is a separate valuation. Churches, churchyards, fortresses, open places, and streets, are free; but of all other buildings the value is ascertained as nearly as possible. Machinery is free; not so mills or water power. All buildings are assumed to be in an average state, and a reduction of 20 to 40 per cent. is made, for the expense of keeping them in repair.

Although in the course of the work the officers were in constant communication, not only with the local authorities, but also with individuals, yet the whole is to be submitted to the people for approval—not that individual objections are to be admitted, or that any fixed principles are to be departed from out of consideration for particular communities. Each commune is to elect three deputies, to whom individuals are to address their complaints; there are then to be district meetings, to which each commune sends one representative; thence the affairs go to the provincial and central assemblies. Thus individuals will have an opportunity to assert their rights against individuals, commune against commune, district against district, and province against province.

In the district assembly, each commune has one vote, and in case of equality the district commissary has a casting vote. The public officers who have been engaged in the work may be present at each of these meetings, to afford explanations and to justify their own decisions.

The lands (fields, meadows, gardens, copses, &c.) are divided into twenty classes, and there are pieces of land entered as producing a net income of only one centesimo. The number of inhabitants, of land-owners, and the value of land, vary, of course, in the different communes. I will mention a few of the highest and lowest figures.

In the province of Milan.	Value in scudi.	Number of Proprietors.	Population.
Castellazo	12,565	3	143
Bernate	11,281	1	201
Trenzanesimo .	37,643	1	147
Vidiserto	25,168	2	176

On the other hand, Tirano, in the Valteline, contains 20,000 *pertiche* liable to the tax, with 10,500 numbers upon the map, and Baruffini, 13,000 *pertiche*, with 13,200 numbers. For the whole Lombardo-Venetian kingdom the result stands for a given period thus:—

Population	4,506,000
Superficies in *pertiche*.....	42,712,000
Shares of proprietors in different communes	835,000

Numbers in the maps..... 6,665,000
Estimated value in scudi..... 210,851,000

The total value of the land has here been calculated according to the estimate permanently adopted in the Milanese since 1760; and in the Venetian districts provisionally. The number of proprietors amounts to about one half of the number of shares. In 1837, there were entered in the register, 95,885 transfers of landed property, one half having been occasioned by deaths, and the rest by sales or contracts. The smallest number of transfers, 1387, occurred in the province of Pavia; the largest, 15,455, in that of Udine.

The valuation by which the land-tax is levied in the Milanese has not, indeed, been altered since 1760; but the tax itself has been increased. Thus, subsequently to 1796, it rose as high as 48 centesimi per scudo. Since 1819, it has been reduced to $17\frac{1}{10}$ centesimi; in the Venetian lands it has also been much reduced; but continues, nevertheless, to be higher than in the Milanese, where the increase that has taken place in the course of eighty years bears no proportion to the increased value of the land. The province of Milan pays about 21 or 22,000,000, that of Venice 12,000,000 lire.

No announcement has yet been made by the government as to the rate at which the country contained within the new *cadastre* is to be subjected to the land-tax. Nor will this part of the work fail

to be attended with many difficulties, and grievous complaints of disproportioned burdens will not be wanting. If the Venetian districts are taxed according to the present value of land, they will pay much more than the Milanese; if they are taxed at a proportionably low rate, the revenue will fall short; and if an increased tax is laid on the Milanese, these will certainly be dissatisfied.

Generally speaking, however, the inequalities of the existing Venetian land-tax are so great, that the new *cadastre* is looked upon as a great improvement, and its early adoption anxiously wished for.

The poll-tax is levied in open places not subject to the tax on consumption. All individuals are liable to it, between the ages of 14 and 60, and it amounts to 3 lire 68 cent. for every inhabitant, whatever his circumstances may be. In addition to this tax levied for the state, an additional sum, not exceeding 2 lire 99 cent. may be imposed for the exigencies of the commune. The poll-tax, therefore, can never exceed the sum of 6 lire 67 centesimi. Indeed this and other additions for the commune are much more frequently raised in the shape of an augmentation of the land-tax, which is thus made to vary greatly in different parts of the country; and in many places the local taxation by the commune amounts to more than what is levied for the wants of the state. This great amount of local taxation in individual communes arises

partly from local circumstances, and partly from the reckless manner in which the communal property was squandered away at the time of the French occupation. On the other hand, there are some communes possessed of so much property, as to be able to dispense altogether with taxation for local purposes. There is perhaps an injustice towards the humbler part of the population in imposing the same amount of poll-tax for all classes; this, however, is in some measure compensated by the frequent practice of raising extraordinary taxes in the shape of an augmentation to the land-tax, and by the circumstance that the control of the communal property may be said to be almost entirely in the hands of the small proprietors, who usually form the majority at the annual meetings of the *convocato*. The poor are exempt from the poll-tax.

The collection of the direct taxes is farmed out on leases of three years, and sometimes the same person may hold the collection of several communes or of whole districts and provinces. The farmer of the taxes has power to proceed against defaulters, and in extreme cases the land may be sold to pay the tax. Such violent measures, however, are never heard of, and I am generally assured that public proceedings for the recovery of the tax are of extremely rare occurrence. The collection is simple, and attended with very little expense. The follow-

ing particulars respecting the Milanese government may perhaps be welcome.

The land liable to the tax includes	*pertiche*	30,581,000
These are officially valued at	*scudi*	124,037,000
The population in 1837 ...	*souls*	2,453,000
Of these there dwelt in walled towns liable to the tax on consumption	„	302,000
In open places, liable to the poll-tax	„	2,151000
Liable to the poll-tax ...	„	630,000
Exempt	„	53,000
Those who really paid were in number	„	577,000
Liable to the tax on trades and professions	„	76,000
Those who really paid	„	65,000
Gross receipt of land-tax	*lire*	21,955,000
„ „ „ poll-tax	“	2,116,000
„ „ „ tax on trades and professions	„	637,000
The costs of collection were on land-tax $\frac{2}{5}$ per cent	„	870,000*
„ „ „ poll-tax $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent	„	31,000

* There is an evident inaccuracy here; either a 0 too little in the gross receipt, or a 0 too much in the cost of collection.—*Tr.*

„ „ „ tax on trades and professions $2\frac{3}{5}$ per cent „ 16,000

Having given the receipts and expenditure of the cities of Trieste and Venice, I will add the principal items of those of Milan for the year 1837.

RECEIPTS.

	lire.
1. Arrears from former years	290,618
2. Interest on capital	1,141
3. Rents of houses and grounds	49,455
4. Quitrents, tithes, and similar receipts from land	1,323
5. Interest on government securities, (*monte*)	2,398
6. Fines, &c.	67,849
7. Tax on trades and professions	42,084
8. Repayment for expenses on account of the state	230,868
9. Sundry customary receipts	25,289
10. Outstanding claims and loans	980,000
11. Addition to the tax on consumption	1,116,783
12. Addition to land-tax	308,313
13. Sale of real property	1,059
14. Fees	4,034

EXPENDITURE.

1. Payment of arrears	901,255
2. Salaries	139,404
3. Official expenses (*spese d'ufficio*)	23,758
4. Pensions	24,961

5. Rents	17,248
6. Interest on capital	77,334
7. Quitrents and tithes	7,955
8. Keeping in repair streets, canals, and pumps	68,805
9. Keeping buildings in repair	51,205
10. Cleansing streets	43,682
11. Lighting streets	143,628
12. Expenses for public rejoicings	6,908
13. Maintenance of the poor, including contributions to public charities	248,160
14. Indemnifications	54,754
15. Military expenses	153,766
16. Police	136,481
17. Superintendence of markets	5,503
18. Sanitary Police	10,190
19. Arrangements for preventing and extinguishing fires	54,310
20. Fire-office	1,977
21. Public education	72,745
22. Sundry expenses	11,606
23. New works for streets and canals	833,180
24. Expenses on some buildings (?)	475
25. Debts paid off	100,000
26. Purchase of ground	1,620
27. Extraordinary expenses, (including those occasioned by the cholera)	34,397
28. Extraordinary expenses for lodging soldiers	28,329

The total expenditure amounted to	3,308,645
The total receipts to	3,121,812
Excess of expenditure	186,833

When great extraordinary expenses fall upon any one year, (such as those occasioned by the cholera and the Emperor's coronation) the amount is not immediately raised and covered, but loans are negotiated, or unusual means are resorted to. This may explain No. 10 of the receipts.

The principal source of regular income is derived from the addition to the tax on consumption. It is of interest by way of comparison with Venice and Trieste, to see upon what articles this tax is laid and what the amount charged.

		lire.	cent.
Wine and vinegar	per cwt.	1	15
Must (new wine)	"	"	80
Grapes	"	"	75
Wheat-flour sifted (*abburatatto*)	"	1	49
——— unsifted	"	1	21
Wheaten bread	"	1	49
Wheat for grinding	"	1	21
Rice	"	"	23
Hay, oats, and other grain (*biada*)	"	"	86
Straw	"	"	46

	per cwt.	lire.	cent.
Cheese	"	2	30
Timber	"	"	29
Wood sawed (*legnami segati*)	"	"	57
Firewood	"	"	6
Coals	"	"	57
Lime and gypsum	"	"	40
Brick and tiles	per 100		29
Oxen	each	7	47
Cows and heifers	"	5	75
Calves	"	2	64
Pigs	"	3	45

The expenditure and receipts of all the cities of Lombardy together amount annually to from 36 to 46,000,000 lire.

LETTER XXI.

Lombardy—Customs—Government Monopolies—Lottery—Domains and Forests—Revenue of the State—Public Debt.

Milan, April 22.

If time and space allowed, I should like to institute a comparison between the present times and those that immediately succeeded the French revolution; on this subject, however, full information may be obtained from Conti's work on the Financial Administration of the kingdom of Italy, and from Pecchio's work on the same subject. I shall at

present confine myself to a few extracts from the latter. "The class of proprietors," he says, "from 1796 till 1802, were despised, oppressed, and disturbed in the enjoyment of their rights, habits, inclinations, and prejudices. The communal expenses, at the same time, increased with every year; and, instead of coming to an understanding with the local authorities, the several branches of the administration were at variance, and acted like hostile powers. Many proprietors could not pay the land-tax, because it amounted to more than the receipts from the land, and property taken in execution and offered for sale could meet with no purchaser. The commercial treaties with France were entirely in the interest of the stronger power by whom they had been imposed. Taxes, rates of insurance, and smuggling, increased simultaneously, and the expense of collecting the revenue rose to 17 per cent. The registration fees (*droits d'enregistrement*) were levied with such strictness, that the heir was obliged to pay the full amount, even when the debts which he had to pay amounted to more than the value of the property. The anxiety of the minister to increase the revenue by a few thousand lire amounted sometimes to positive insanity. In 1806, for instance, he taxed the vegetables which the peasants brought in hand-baskets into the city. They were, moreover, obliged to

wait at the gates, until a sufficient number had been collected to make it worth while to write out a receipt, and then long disputes followed as to the proportion in which each ought to contribute his share." Among the expenses of 1808, we find a contribution of 30,000,000 lire to France, 42,000,000 for military expenses, and only 200,000 for churches and schools. Fortunately for the country, there were some redeeming circumstances, such as improved roads and canals, a free intercourse in Italy, increased cultivation and consumption, the establishment of several new manufactories, agricultural associations, &c.

Many of the institutions of the time have been retained, others changed. At present there exists in walled towns a tax on consumption, which differs in amount in different places. To this end the several towns have been divided into four classes. The tax does not everywhere extend to the same articles, but generally includes wine, spirits, flour, bread, cattle, fish, oil, butter, cheese, hay, straw, wood, coals, and a few other articles. The mill-tax is levied at the mills, the others mostly at the town gates.

In places not surrounded by walls, the inhabitants in general are not liable to the consumption tax; but certain trades are nevertheless obliged to pay it. Thus, bakers, butchers, wine-merchants, and inn-

keepers, are liable to a meal, meat, or wine tax, and none are allowed to carry on these trades, unless enrolled in the official list. The baker pays from 75 to 80 centesimi on every cwt. of flour; the wine merchant, 80 cent. on each cwt. of wine, and from 2 to 3 lire on spirits. Oxen, 16 lire; cows, 12; calves, 6; pigs, 4; and sheep, goats, and lambs, 50 centesimi, if they weigh more than half a cwt., and 25 cent. if less. Whoever kills for his own consumption is exempt. This rural tax on consumption is usually farmed out to the best bidder, who collects the tax from the several persons liable to it, or makes an agreement with the bakers, butchers, &c. for a stipulated sum. While some defend the expediency of this tax, on account of the facility of the collection, others maintain that the revenue derived from it is insignificant, compared with the endless fraud and chicanery to which it gives rise. The truth, probably, inclines to the latter view of the question.

Although taxes (*calmieri*) on trades have, generally speaking, been abolished, they have been retained in a few places; in Milan, for instance, the bakers are still subject to the tax. Some of the butchers, likewise, pay a duty on beef, others do not; but as those subject to the tax have their weights inspected and their prices fixed by the police, they enjoy

greater confidence with the public, and it is considered an advantage to be placed on the list.

With respect to customs, the object of the Austrian government is gradually to abolish all prohibitions, and to reduce all exorbitant duties. From this object, it must be confessed the present state of things is, as in most countries, still very remote. The importation of certain articles, including most foreign manufactures, continues to be prohibited; for instance, all fabrics of cotton, flax, silk, wool, iron, ivory, porcelain, straw, chocolate, macaroni, &c. The department of finance may, however, authorise individual exceptions; but then the quantity must not be larger than, at an ad valorem duty of 60 per cent., would pay fifty florins. Similar permissions are necessary to authorise the exportation of certain articles, as raw iron, rags, works of art, &c. An unconditional prohibition rests upon the importation of salt, artificial mineral waters, substitutes for coffee, and prayer-books printed abroad; as also on the exportation of silkworms, gold and silver ore, &c. On gold and silver coins, machinery, &c., no importation duty is charged. The duty is charged by weight, value, or tale, and, in addition to the duty itself, there are generally fees for certificates, sealing, weighing, &c. The tariff has undergone many variations since the peace; on some articles the duty has been reduced, on many more it has been raised. Thus, for instance, in—

	1823.	1831.
Wine paid per cwt.	2 to 26 lire.	10 to 40 lire.
Sugar	48 80	37 112
Raw cotton	18 lire 75 cent.	18 lire 75 cent.
Paper	40 to 107 lire.	17 to 53 lire.
Beer (in casks)...	4 lire 28 cent.	8 lire 30 cent.
Coffee	75 lire.	112½ lire.

On almost every kind of corn and cattle, the duty has been raised since 1831, and, in most instances, doubled. Thus in—

	1823.	1831.
An ox paid.....	5 lire.	12 lire.
A cow	3	6
A mule.....	3	12 lire.
A sheep	45 cent.	90 cent.

That the tariff admits of great simplification may be judged from the circumstance, that the single article of hides occupies 90 items; in the last tariff but one, it occupied no fewer than 152.

Saltpetre, gunpowder, tobacco, and salt, are commercial monopolies reserved by the state. With respect to these, the regulations are so severe, that the cultivation of tobacco is prohibited, and salt-springs not worked by government must be filled up. The price of salt is immeasurably higher than it would be were the trade open; the monopoly, therefore, constitutes a tax, which, like the poll-tax, falls most heavily on the humbler classes.

The lottery still continues, and operates most perniciously. The public lands and forests have, for the most part, been sold, and the latter nearly destroyed. Those belonging to the communes and to public institutions are subject to fixed regulations, which are very rarely enforced with respect to private property.

The state revenues have risen in amount, less in consequence of the increase of duties than of the increased production and consumption.

In the Milanese, the land-tax amounts to...	21,900,000 lire.
The personal tax to.....	2,000,000
The tax on trades and professions to	600,000

When to these all the other branches of revenue are added, the total amounts to fifty odd millions of lire.

To the reduction of the public debt, the government has given great attention. The interest is generally 5 per cent., and is regularly paid. The 5 per cents. are at 113, and enjoy great confidence. They are entered to the names of the holders, and when sold, must be formally transferred.

LETTER XXII.

Lombardy—Agriculture—Rearing of Cattle—Cultivation of the Silk Worm.

Milan, April 23.

PERHAPS I ought here to add something with respect to the personal position of the rural population; but it appears to me more expedient to reserve the subject till I have revisited and compared a greater number of the Italian states. I shall confine myself, therefore, to a few particulars borrowed from M. Czörnig's experience. In Lombardy there is one ecclesiastic to every 238 inhabitants, a number which is not considered disproportionate, when the wide dispersion of the population is taken into account. Of monks, mostly of charitable orders, there are only 140. Four-fifths of the whole population are, directly or indirectly, connected with agriculture. Nearly one-fifth subsist by trades and professions. Circumstances into which I cannot here enter more at large, give a great importance to advocates, notaries, land surveyors, and accountants. In all Lombardy there are 598 doctors of medicine, 323 doctors of surgery, 996 doctors of medicine *and* surgery, in all 1917 graduated medical men, and 1321 midwives.

Of the whole superficies of Lombardy, about eight-ninths are under cultivation, and about in these proportions:—

	Per Cent.	
Arable	67	on an average.
Pasture	12	
Wood	21	

On this point, however, great diversity exists in different parts of the country. Thus—

In Pavia, 92 per cent. arable, 3 pasture, 5 wood.
In Sondrio, 13 ..... 40 47

The following is stated to have been the produce of the soil in 1836:—

Rye	Vienna Metzen*	440,000
Oats		336,000
Barley		94,000
Beans, peas, &c		132,000
Wheat		2,163,000
Indian corn		3,653,000
Rice		479,000
Millet		244,000
Chestnuts	cwt.	158,000
Potatoes		305,000
Orchard fruit		238,000
Oil		74,000
Flax		96,000
Straw		5,300,000
Hay, clover, &c		10,110,000
Cheese, butter, and honey		696,000

* The Vienna Metz is equal to 1 7-10ths of a Winchester bushel.

Silk		170,000
Wine	Eimer	1,916,000
Wood	Klafter	809,000

Some articles in Lombardy are dearer, others cheaper than in the German portions of the Austrian empire. Among the former are rye, oats, wood, potatoes, beef, &c.; among the latter, wine, Indian corn, and straw.

Although in Lombardy much of the labour is done by hand, draught cattle are nevertheless kept in great numbers, indeed there are few countries where cattle of every kind abound more; I give the average amount for all Lombardy, and at the same time of those districts in which the numbers are largest and smallest. There were in Lombardy,

		Maximum.	Minimum.	
Horses kept for pleasure	7,538	Milan	2853 Sondrio	93
Do. employed in agriculture	51,808	Lodi	9,616 Sondrio	1522
Asses	13,476	Bergamo	2,839 Pavia	237
Cows	257,839	Como	57,000 Cremona	9700
Sheep	168,000	Berg.	59,000 Pavia	500

Taking the calculation in a different form, we find throughout Lombardy, on an average, for every geographical square mile :—

Horses.	Asses & Mules.	Oxen.	Cows.	Total.
156	66	402	666	1178

	Horses.	Asses & Mules.	Oxen.	Cows.	Total.
Maximum in the district of Milan...	363	139	470	1292	2264
Minimum in Sondrio ...	18	16	17	332	397

Contrary to a prevailing opinion, supported by individual instances, we find throughout Lombardy, that the most densely peopled districts are those in which the greatest number of cattle are maintained.

Cows are generally bought in Switzerland, where they can be reared at less expense. The calves are killed for meat. The cheese known by the name of Parmesan is made chiefly in the country extending from Milan to Pavia and Lodi, and from Abbiategrasso on the Ticino to Codogno, near the Adda. The value of the cheese annually made, is calculated, on an average, to amount to 37½ millions of lire.

The cultivation of silk is that which has increased more than any other branch of industry, and is at once the simplest, the cheapest, and the most profitable.* It plays, in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, a part almost more important than the rearing of sheep does in the north of Germany. From year to year the mulberry trees increase in number, covering the fields from Lago Maggiore to near

* Czörnig, in the Echo, 1837, No. 5.

Treviso, though without interfering with the usual labours of agriculture. The districts of Brescia Cremona, Verona, and Mantua, participate most largely in the cultivation of silk; in Brianza, the treatment is considered the best, and Milan and Bergamo form the central points of the whole trade.

In 1800, the silk collected amounted to 1,800,000 pounds, at present it is said to be about 7,000,000 pounds. During the last twenty years, the quantity, I am assured, has increased threefold, and the value sixfold. This led to ill-judged speculations, with a view to bring the silk trade into a few hands, and to maintain prices at an artificial height. False hopes were raised of an almost unlimited advance. The consequence was, a tremendous depreciation in the years 1834 and 5, something similar to what took place in Germany with respect to the wool trade. The same danger which seems to threaten the latter from New Holland appears to be impending over the silk trade from Asia. The importation of silk from Asia into London increased from 1825 to 1838 at the rate of 36¼ per cent. In 1800-1802, it amounted to 1,350,000 pounds weight, and in 1830-1832, it had already increased to 6,138,000 pounds. At present, however, the silk trade continues to increase in Italy, and prices appear to have fixed themselves at a tolerably stationary point. The weaving of silk has likewise increased in Lombardy; but is of little importance as

yet, employing only 2,349 looms, and 3,276 labourers. The following is the amount of silk collected in the different states of Italy:—

In Piedmont, and Genoa	2,000,000 lb.
Lombardy & the Southern Tyrol	7,000,000
Parma, Modena, Lucca	550,000
Tuscany	300,000
States of the Church	800,000
Naples and Sicily	1,200,000
In all	11,850,000 lb.

which, at the high prices of 1836, amounted in value to the enormous sum of 374 millions of lire.

It has been calculated that there are annually brought into the European market 74,000 bales of silk, each on an average weighing 73½ kilogrammes, or 128½ Vienna pounds (170 lbs. English) viz:—

From Italy, exclusively of what is worked up in the country	34,000 bales
France	10,500
India and Bengal	9,500
China and Canton	4,000
Persia.....	7,500
Asia Minor	3,500
The Archipelago and the Levant	3,500
Spain	1,500
Presumed total	74,000 bales.

Of these there are consumed,

By France	22,000 bales
England	28,000
Prussia	7,600
Austria and Germany ...	5,000
Russia	6,400
Switzerland	5,000

Such eminent works have been written by men thoroughly masters of the subject on the cultivation of silk, that it would be quite impertinent for me to attempt to dwell upon it. I will only state a few curious facts borrowed from Burger's book. Twenty-four thousand eggs of the silkworm weigh a quarter of an ounce. The worm lives from forty-five to fifty-three days, increases his weight in thirty days 9,500 fold, and during the last twenty-eight days of his life eats nothing. For 739 pounds of mulberry leaves seventy pounds of cocoons are obtained; 100 pounds of cocoons give $8\frac{1}{3}$ pounds of spun silk, and one pound of cocoons will produce a single thread 88,000 fathoms in length.

Enough has been said to show that the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom is a rich country. Government and communes have done much for public utility, having expended large sums on roads, canals, bridges, churches, public buildings, &c. The roads, particularly in the plains, as well as over the mountains, are kept in the best repair, without any

toll being levied upon them. The wealth of the country, it is true, is very unequally divided, and the poor are very numerous. I must, however, repeat here what I said in my letter on Venice, namely, that there is scarcely any country that possesses greater and more richly endowed institutions of charity, than the north of Italy. In the Venetian districts (independently of the city of Venice) the yearly income from endowments amounts to nearly a million of florins; and in the city of Milan alone the hospitals and other charitable institutions possess property to the amount of 61½ millions of lire, without including the sums annually paid by government and the commune. The large hospital is the wealthiest of all, being endowed with property worth 18½ millions of lire; besides which there are a multitude of institutions for orphans, foundlings, widows, and aged people; an institution for lending money on reasonable terms, &c. &c. The savings banks are also making a beginning. The capital accumulated amounts to 8352 lire; of which 5605 lire belong to Milan. This, to be sure, in comparison with what has elsewhere been done, particularly in England, is a mere trifle.

LETTER XXIII.

Lombardy—Crimes—Foundling Hospitals—Illegitimate Children.

Turin, April 27.

In my book about England I called attention to the fact, that very hasty and incorrect deductions are often drawn from the amount of crime committed in any particular country. The mere number of offences committed proves very little, unless the character of those offences be more accurately described; and such a description even leaves us comparatively in darkness, unless we take into consideration the effects of want, war, bad harvests, the nature of the police, social relations, popular habits, &c. The more facts, however, we collect from different countries, the sooner we shall be able to avoid erroneous conclusions, and the nearer shall we approach to truth. Under these circumstances, therefore, a review of the crimes committed in the government of Milan during the last ten years may not be without interest.

	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838
High Treason	.			23	6		3	1	2	4
Disturbance of public tranquillity	.		1	3	3	3				
Open violence	36	31	48	49	84	53	38	36	69	59
Abuse of official authority	.	.	1	2	1	1		2	1	1
Coining	.	.	12	14	17	22	43	51	14	16	59	48

	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838
Interruption of divine service						1		1		
Rape. &c.	3	9	12	7	6	6	7	6	6	4
Murder and manslaughter	1	8	13	13	6	4	1	5	6	2
Inflicting wounds	5	15	3	8	9	11	7	6	5	9
Dangerous exposure of children	4	7	8	3	10	11	5	4	5	4
Duelling										
Arson	14	18	19	16	18	24	13	19	17	22
Theft and betrayal of trust	970	987	1013	1121	1024	787	600	1097	1123	867
Highway robbery	214	231	214	170	249	194	172	163	201	148
Swindling (*truffa*)	4	18	15	6	17	15	4	14	29	21
Bigamy										
Calumny			1		1	1				
Affording assistance to criminals		1	1	2	1	1				1
Total	1263	1342	1371	1445	1478	1163	864	1390	1523	1190

Not to fall myself into the mistake above alludcd to, I shall add but few remarks to this table. In the first place there is no progressive increase or diminution of crime, whence any juridical or moral deductions might be drawn; on the contrary, the augmentation or diminution in particular years of certain kinds of offences may be easily traced to the circumstances of the times, such as political disturbances, failure of harvests, &c.

Coining, (*falsificazione delle monete*) appears to be more frequent than in many other countries; and we have a full confirmation of the old complaint that highway robbery is more prevalent in Italy than any where else, no code of laws having yet been able to extirpate it. Theft and murder are rare in proportion to robbery, though even under

those heads it cannot be said that the Italians have yet discovered the *juste milieu.* It cannot but appear strange that the offence of duelling should present one continued blank throughout ten years. Is this owing to magisterial lenity, to a deficiency of courage, or to just views of the barbarous and unchristian character of the practice? Suicides are numerous, particularly in Milan. Child-murder is not enumerated, but in its stead we find the heading "dangerous exposure." This is natural enough; where exposure without danger is a thing of every-day occurrence, and encouraged by a false notion of humanity, that which is dangerous can alone be punished. Child-murder, moreover, would be a very superfluous crime, in a country where there are means of relieving one's conscience in a much more convenient manner. This must not, however, blind us to the dark side of the picture. In 1831, no fewer than 2625 children were brought to the foundling hospital of Milan, although in the whole district only 1576 illegitimate children were born in that year. Even supposing, therefore, (which would be a very erroneous supposition) that *all* illegitimate children had been brought to the foundling hospital, there must even then have been 1049 *legitimate* children among the foundlings of that year. In 1836, the foundlings at Milan were in number 2963, of whom 1764 died.

The number of children maintained that year in the hospital was 9892. One-third of all the children born in Milan, or one-fifteenth of all those born in the country, were, therefore, unfeelingly abandoned by their parents! What immorality! What a senseless expenditure of public money! On this point much more effect might be relied on from legislative interference than from most well-meant endeavours to diminish crime; and are not fraud and theft, crimes against the goods and the gold of strangers, acts of innocence when compared with the fraud thus committed by parents against their own children?

There is one subject, connected with the last, which deserves to be pointed out. The proportionably small number of illegitimate children was explained to me as arising from the levity with which early marriages are contracted, as also from the strict control under which young girls are kept. I was assured that it is generally deemed a more venial offence to intrigue with a married woman, than with an unmarried one, and the same opinion prevails among the women. Hence, it is believed that the number of foundlings is very much augmented by the illegitimate children born in wedlock. Thus the cost of maintaining illegitimate children is avoided, while for those born in wedlock the law points out a father, who, if they were not abandoned,

would be forced to provide for their subsistence. These sentiments, I own, appear to me a refinement of immorality; a smaller evil is made to give way to a greater, and the devil is driven out by Beelzebub, the prince of devils.

LETTER XXIV.

Lombardy—Schools—Gymnasiums.

Turin, April 28.

I SHALL have this time to speak on a more gratifying subject, that of public schools, with respect to which, government, communes, and individuals manifest a laudable emulation. The prevailing opinion seems to be, that much has already been done for elementary schools, but that the institutions of a superior order (universities and gymnasiums) still require great reforms. According to the principal law on the subject of schools of an inferior order, there are two gradations of elementary schools, from those with one class to those with three or four. To these are added what are called technical schools. In the lower elementary schools the first principles of religion are taught, together with reading, writing, and arithmetic. The higher elementary schools are intended for those who purpose devoting themselves to the arts or sciences. The technical schools are chiefly in-

tended to prepare youth for commerce and agriculture. The law compels parents to send their children to school between the ages of six and twelve, and a fine of half a lira per month is incurred by those who neglect to do so; but is not enforced in Lombardy. Wherever circumstances allow of its being done, the education of boys is separate from that of girls. A building for school, and the necessary supply of desks, forms, &c. must be provided by the commune. In the cold and mountainous districts only are the schoolrooms warmed in winter. The books prescribed for these schools vary in price from forty-two centesimi to a florin. In the higher elementary schools, religion, orthography, Italian grammar, the elements of Latin, mathematics, natural philosophy, geography, and natural history, are taught. In the technical schools instruction is given in modern languages,—English, German, and French. The clergy are recommended, not merely to give religious instruction, but also to take charge of some other of the lessons. The general superintendence of religious instruction is committed to the bishops. For opening a private school, an express permission must be obtained from government.

Some very paternal admonitions are contained in the instructions by which it is intended that teachers and pupils should guide their conduct. Among

other things, the rising generation are told: "Before leaving home, take care that your clothes be clean. Wash your hands, cut your nails, and comb your hair. On arriving at school, wipe the dirt or snow from your feet, and shake your hats and cloaks. Take care not to soil or otherwise injure benches, forms, tables, windows, doors, walls, &c.

The elementary schools in Lombardy* amounted

in number, in	1835	1836	1837
to	4122	4470	4531
including private schools	701	695	726

In 1837, there remained only 66 communes without an elementary school for boys, so that, if the education be not general among children, the fault must arise less from the want of public institutions than from the want of good-will. The outlay for elementary schools amounted in 1837 to 507,000 florins. Of this 21,000 florins were derived from endowments, 423,000 were contributed by the communes, and 63,000 were defrayed by the state. Of every 100 schools, 84 were public, and of every 100 pupils, 59 were boys and 41 girls. About three-fifths of the children of a suitable age attend school; and of those that do so, 91 per cent. attend public and 9 per cent. private schools. The

* In 1834, there were in the Venetian part of the kingdom 1438 schools, with 81,372 pupils, and 1676 male and female teachers.

teachers, (including 2226 clergymen, directors, and school authorities,) amount in number to 6284. The cholera created a serious interruption at the time; nevertheless, the children attending schools have increased 3242 in number since 1835-7, and of this increase the greater proportion are girls. The infant schools are attended by 2026 children, and directed by 93 teachers; their yearly revenues amount to about 16,000 florins. Thus we everywhere perceive the cause of education advancing, and the several communes manifest their praiseworthy sympathy by constantly increasing votes for the support of schools.

In immediate connexion with the higher order of elementary schools are the gymnasiums, of which some are public, some communal, some in immediate dependence on the bishops, and others private institutions. In Lombardy, in 1837, there were 10 imperial gymnasiums, with 96 teachers and 2865 pupils; 8 communal, with 1291 pupils. The private gymnasiums were attended by about 1168 pupils. None but teachers who have been strictly examined are allowed to give lessons in a private gymnasium, the pupils must all be entered on the list of a public school, to which they are bound to pay a yearly contribution of two florins, and at which they must submit to periodical examinations. Private gymnasiums must adopt the course of study prescribed

for public institutions, and must not allow their pupils to remain less than the regulated period in each class. Those intended for the church, for the medical profession, or for that of architecture, must be educated at a public school, and those intended for the law are subject to a variety of stringent rules.

All the elementary schools of Lombardy are placed under an inspector, and another officer has the gymnasiums under his control. All vacancies for teachers are thrown open to public competition, and it is only after examination that they are confirmed in their appointments by a government order. To every gymnasium are in general attached a rector, a religious teacher, four professors of grammar, and two of humanity, (*d' umanità*). To limit the number of those who crowd into the learned professions, it has of late years been prescribed that no pupil shall be received at a gymnasium before his tenth or after his fourteenth year. From this regulation, however, constant exceptions are made, as it has been found that a rigid enforcement would have the effect of excluding the cleverest and most industrious children.

Corporal punishments have everywhere been abolished. On Sundays all the pupils of a gymnasium attend church. Not more than 80 pupils must be included in the same class. Thursday

is always a holiday. On each of the other five days there are only four school hours. The holidays, in addition to those on occasion of the church festivals, last from the 9th of September to the 1st of November.

The regular course of study in each gymnasium lasts six years, during which the pupil has to pass through four classes of grammar and two of humanity. In the first grammatical class are taught: Italian, the rudiments of Latin, arithmetic, geography, and religion. In the second class, the same course is continued, but Roman antiquity, and the geography and history of the Austrian monarchy, are added. In the third grammatical class, Greek is added; and in the fourth, Latin prosody. In the first humanity class are taught rhetoric, poetry, algebra, geography, history, and religion; in the second the same subjects continue to employ the pupil. A pupil who does not intend to study medicine, or to go into the church, may obtain a dispensation from Greek.

In every branch of study, the school-books are prescribed by the higher authorities. Latin and Greek are taught exclusively through the medium of anthologies and selections, in which there are difficult extracts intended for the more advanced pupils. Among the Greek selections for the first humanity class are extracts from Hierocles, Æsop,

Ælian, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Athenæus, Strabo, Stobæus, Sextus Empiricus, Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Apollodorus, Lucian, Herodotus, Anacreon, Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, Meleager, Tyrtæus, Solon, Orpheus, the Tragedians, and Aristophanes. The Latin selections are compiled on the same principle, passages even from Muretus and Owen being included. Particular attention is paid to the old-fashioned rhetorical arrangement; consequently, descriptions, narratives, &c., from the most different writers, follow one another.

A new law was promulgated in 1838 on the subject of technical or commercial schools. These are intended to prepare the future trader and mechanic, and are therefore to give a practical direction to their studies, always keeping in view the interests of the Austrian monarchy and those of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The towns in which these schools are established must furnish a suitable building and all the requisite furniture, &c.; the rest of the charge is defrayed by government. Each teacher gives from 4 to 15 lessons weekly, and their salaries vary from 400 to 800 florins. Each school is divided into three classes, into the junior of which a boy may pass from the grammatical first class of a gymnasium. In the first class of a technical school, (the first class always

means the lowest,) the pupil is *obliged* to attend weekly 2 lessons of religion, 3 of Italian grammar, 3 of geography, 4 of mathematics, 3 of zoology, 6 of drawing, 4 of writing, in all 25 lessons, of an hour each; in addition to these, there are 2 lessons of German, and 2 of French, the attendance on which is optional. In the second class, botany is substituted for zoology. In the third class are given 2 lessons of religion, 3 of Italian style, 7 of natural philosophy, 3 of mineralogy, in all 15 obligatory lessons. In addition to these, there are 5 lessons of chemistry, 5 of commercial science, 5 of book-keeping, and 3 of commercial correspondence. Of these the pupil may choose whether he will attend the lessons of chemistry and one of the other three subjects, or whether he will attend the last three without chemistry.

Of these technical schools many as yet have been only planned. There is also a special school for

Veterinary surgery, with 5 teachers, 41 pupils, and an expenditure of 71,643 lire;

Chemistry, with 3 teachers, 15 pupils, and an expenditure of 6,750 lire;

Midwives, with 3 teachers, 71 pupils, and an expenditure of 24,432 lire.

This last institution is in connection with the lying-in and foundling hospitals.

For future theologians, on leaving the elementary schools, distinct institutions are provided in the

episcopal seminaries, of which there is one attached to every see. The largest, at Milan, in 1837, contained 403 pupils; the smallest, at Crema, only 10. In these the teachers are appointed by the bishop, but satisfactory proof of their capacity must be given to the temporal authorities.

LETTER XXV.

Remarks on the course of instruction in the schools of Lombardy.

Turin, April 29.

My last letter affords matter form any reflections and comparisons; but I will leave them to others, confining myself to a few merely explanatory remarks.

In the first place, the elementary instruction is so simple, and the natural progress so evident, that there appears, in this respect, to be no very important difference between the German system and that of Lombardy. The only thing to be wished for is, that the number of good teachers may increase in proportion to the number of pupils. To the credit of the clergy be it said that, in addition to the regular hours of religious instruction, they sometimes take charge of one or two other branches, a course perfectly consistent with the duties of their profession.

Secondly—the limited number of school-hours at the gymnasiums is explained by the work which the children are expected to do at home, and the incompatibility of an Italian temperament with long confinement. The work to be done at home is, however, much less considerable than at a public school in Germany; and the vivacity of the Italian temperament might just as reasonably be adduced as a motive for subjecting the pupils to a more strict and continuous discipline. Besides, in other parts of Italy, we shall see that the number of school-hours is greater. On other grounds, therefore, must be decided the question, whether an increase in the number of lessons be desirable or not; and also, whether it would not be better to give two half-holidays in the week, as with us, than to sacrifice one whole day out of six, as is done in Lombardy.

Thirdly—I have to observe that under the word grammar is included not only Latin, but every instruction in the native language. Greek is thrown too much into the back-ground; and, however laudable it may be to attend to the geography and history of Austria, it may be much doubted whether it be well judged to assign to them so marked a precedence before every other kind of historical instruction.

Fourthly—the reading nothing but fragmentary collections is defended on the ground that it is ex-

pedient to make a pupil acquainted with a variety of authors, and with the different kinds of Latin and Greek. It must be owned that, in our German schools, where a contrary system prevails, many a young scholar becomes acquainted with all the delicacies of one author, without being able even to construe another, with whose particular style he happens not to be acquainted. It would perhaps be better to combine the two systems, and not to make the acquirement of dead languages the main object, where the student is in point of fact intended for some more active pursuit; otherwise, the student, instead of having his character strengthened and his judgment improved by the full impression of ancient greatness, is likely to conceive a disgust of all classical studies, and never to take a Greek or Roman into his hand again, when once he has left school. Who will deny that such is with us the rule, and the contrary the exception?

Fifthly—It may be doubted, perhaps, whether it be advisable to draw the future theologian, like other students, into the full current of temporal affairs; and it is just as doubtful whether it is advisable to detach him completely from the world, and yet require him, when he comes to mingle in it, to understand, to estimate, and to guide it.

Sixthly—Whether our public schools in Ger-

many are not more efficient, and whether they do not prepare the student better for the university than those of Lombardy are questions that do not admit of a doubt. On that very account, however, the lyceum and the course of philosophy have been established. Of these more in my next; for the present I will only call attention,

Seventhly—to a most important point, namely that in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom all public instruction, whether in the elementary schools, or at a gymnasium, a lyceum, or a university, is *altogether gratuitous.* I am aware of the motives by which the demand of payment is usually justified; nor do I require to be told that what is given away rarely fails to be undervalued; nevertheless, there is something gratifying in the idea of education without any cost to the parents: much anxiety is thus prevented, as well as many little selfish manœuvres.

LETTER XXVI.

Lombardy—Lyceums—Universities—Academy—Exhibition of Works of Art.

Turin, April 30.

I HAVE to treat to-day of an institution of Lombardy (partly of French origin) which differs ma-

terially from our system; I mean of the Lyceums, and what is called the course of philosophical studies. It is generally thought that the gymnasium affords but an insufficient preparation for the study of divinity, law, or medicine, and even for those who, without purposing to devote themselves to either of those professions, intend to compete for appointments to certain public offices. For such students, therefore, a two years' course is opened at the lyceum, or in the philosophical faculty of a university. Before completing this course, a student cannot be entered for either of the three other faculties. In Prussia we have no corresponding regulation. The subjects here treated of at the lyceums are with us either attended to at the public school, or may be studied at the university simultaneously with divinity, jurisprudence, or medicine. Here no student can enter a lyceum without a certificate of maturity from the gymnasium; nor can he be entered for either of the three faculties, without a certificate to show that he has passed through the intermediate two years' course, which is never curtailed, though, with respect to some of the lectures, it is left to the option of the students to attend them or not, as they please. The discipline under which they are kept is tolerably strict. They must not go to a theatre, ball, or any place of public amusement, without express per-

mission, nor are circulating libraries allowed to lend them novels or the *Conversations-Lexicon*. On Sundays they must go to church, and six times a year they must confess and receive the communion. There are in Lombardy seven imperial lyceums, one civic at Lodi, and eight episcopal, connected with the seminaries. They are attended by 1600 students. The imperial lyceums cost the government about 137,000 lire annually.

In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom there are two universities, those of Padua and Pavia, where the course of study is under the control of the directors of the several faculties, who in their turn are responsible to the governor of the province. The directors propose candidates to fill up vacancies, suggest modifications in the course of study, see that the professors arrange their lectures in a suitable manner, that they do not wander away from their subjects, and that they lead a moral life; the directors are also to examine class-books and academical discourses, to be frequently present at the lectures, to take part in the deliberations of the Senate, to call the faculties together, and to superintend the election of a dean.

These directors, who are not professors, are said to have all the real power in their hands, the rector being a representative without influence, and the functions of the dean being confined to the care of

some matters of a purely scientific character. Every thing belonging to discipline and the maintenance of order is also in the hands of the directors.

An ordinance relating to the University of Padua, dated the 8th of April, 1825, declares that institution to be immediately under the *gubernium*. A general assembly includes not only the directors, deans, and professors, but likewise all doctors who have graduated at Padua, and reside in the city. The rector is elected annually from the different faculties in succession, and not only the professors but also each of the doctors just mentioned has a voice in the election, and is himself eligible to the dignity. The Senate selects three candidates from the faculty next in succession, after which a majority of votes determines the election, subject to the confirmation of the government. The rector calls the Senate together twice a year, when a report is read of all that has been done by him during the interval. His power, however, in this respect, is greatly cramped, especially by means of the directors. The dean must be a doctor of the faculty to which he belongs, but, in that of law or medicine, must not himself be a professor. In the other faculties, professors are eligible to the dignity of dean. The dean is to keep an historical chronicle of everything relating to the faculty. All lectures are gratuitous, with the exception that twelve lire

are paid by the higher order of nobles on entering their names, nine by the inferior nobles, six by a wealthy citizen, and three by any other student.

With respect to the relation between doctors and professors, the law says: the faculties are considered as academical corporations, distinct (*separati*) from the professors. Although the doctors, therefore, do not belong to the body of instructors, they have a central point of union, to consult together, and place their suggestions before the authorities. They likewise serve the state, as an assembly of well-informed men, whose opinion may be consulted and listened to.

The university of Padua has the four customary faculties. The Senate consists of the following persons: the rector, four directors, four deans, and four ancients among the professors. There are six ordinary professors of divinity, eight of law, twelve of medicine, nine of the philosophical sciences, besides a few deputies and assistants, but not, as with us, a set of extraordinary professors and private tutors. The general assembly, including the doctors, consists of twenty-four theologians, fifty-seven jurists, twenty-four physicians, and thirty philosophers.

The university course, for divinity and law, lasts four years; for medicine and surgery five; and for those who study surgery only, three or four years. Every half-year the students are examined. At

the end of two years they obtain the dignity of bachelor, and at the end of three, that of a licentiate. The dignity of doctor is not conferred before the end of the fourth year, nor till after a general examination. The candidate must publicly defend a Latin thesis, but no mention is made of any essay required to be printed.

The university of Pavia has no theological faculty, but in every other respect the same constitution as that of Padua. There are at present thirty-eight professors, three adjuncts, and eleven assessors. Of these, eleven professors and two adjuncts belong to the philosophical faculty; four professors and one assessor to the mathematical division of the faculty; eight professors and one adjunct to the legal; and fifteen professors and ten assessors to the medical faculty.

The mathematical division of the philosophical faculty is chiefly intended for the education of land-surveyors and engineers. A student can enter it on completing his course of philosophy. The payment of the several teachers, in 1837, amounted—

	Lire.
For the faculty of jurisprudence, to	24,000
For that of medicine	75,000
For the philosophical and mathematical teachers	69,000
For adjuncts	16,000

The library received 3,000 lire (three lire = one florin); the botanical garden, 2,800; the agrarian garden, 1,200; the museum of natural history, 1,700; the physical cabinet, 2,620; the whole expenditure for the university amounted to 250,000 lire.

The expense of a degree comes to 949 lire for a jurist; to 570, for a physician; to 343, for a surgeon, &c. In 1837 there were made,

Doctors of Law	33
„ Medicine	112
„ Surgery	95
Masters of Surgery	17
Surgeons of the second class	9
Apothecaries	17
Engineers	66
Land Surveyors	15

On an average, the fees received annually for degrees amount to 150,000 lire. The smallest number of students was from 1812 to 1814, when there were only 551; the largest number was in 1825-6, when there were 1483. In 1837, the students amounted in number to 1307, including 87 foreigners; of these, 287 belonged to the philosophical, 438 to the legal, and 582 to the medical faculty.

According to the list of lectures for 1839, I find that the course of philosophy, for the first year,

comprised the following subjects: religion, logic, metaphysics, elementary mathematics, and Latin philology from an anthology. For the second year are prescribed: religion, morals, physics, Latin philology. Among the lectures (on which the attendance is optional, are universal history, natural history, Austrian history, diplomacy, belles lettres, history of philosophy, and the German language and literature.

In the faculty of law are prescribed: in the

First year, first half-year: encyclopedia, natural law, criminal law, statistics;
second half-year: continuation of natural and criminal law, and Austrian history.

second year, first half-year: Roman law, and ecclesiastical law;
second half-year: continuation and feudal law.

Third year, first half-year: Austrian civil and commercial law;
second half-year: continuation and maritime law.

Fourth year, first half-year: law-proceedings, notarial law, business style, and political science;
second half-year: continuation, and Austrian political and criminal legislation.

The only lectures delivered in Latin are those on

ecclesiastical law. There are generally five lectures to be attended every day, with the exception of Thursday, always a holiday. The principal vacation lasts from the 8th of September till the 3rd of November.

To afford some idea of the existing arrangement, the foregoing will suffice, to which I will only add a few brief remarks as when treating of schools, by way of instituting some comparison between the German and Italian universities.

In the first place, the lyceum and the course of philosophy owe their institution evidently to a consciousness that a blank existed between the degree of information acquired at a gymnasium and that necessary for prosecuting the study of either of the other three faculties; but here a doubt suggests itself, whether it would not be simpler, more economical, and more beneficial, to assign to the gymnasium a part of the instruction afforded by the lyceum, and the remainder to the university itself. I scarcely think it well-judged to compress all these subjects into the space of two years, and then to confine the student entirely to matters connected with his intended profession, without allowing him the relief of variety. Would it not be better to permit the young men, as is done at our German universities, to attend philosophical and historical lectures, simultaneously with those on theology,

medicine or law? It is true that, owing to the greater liberty allowed to our students, they frequently absent themselves from all lectures but those connected with the pursuit on which their future livelihood is to depend. In such cases it is not to be denied that the stricter regulations of Italy may be preferable.

The director of a faculty is an officer wholly unknown with us, and the object of his appointment is evidently the maintenance of a stricter discipline. The enlargement of the faculty by the admission of resident doctors is another arrangement unknown in Germany. It may have the effect of avoiding much partiality and exclusiveness; but it may be questioned whether, on the other hand, it does not tend to weaken the corporation.

Many objections might be made to the number and succession of the lectures, and certainly our better universities in Germany present greater variety and more completeness. The Italians, on the other hand, might argue, that this variety is carried much too far with us, breaking up the course of study into a multitude of fragments, in a manner quite unsuitable to the student's advancement.

A new law was promulgated on the 6th of September, 1838, for the foundation or restoration of two academies of arts and sciences at Venice and

Milan, and measures are now in progress to effect the realisation of this plan. Each academy is to comprise three classes: real members, honorary members, and correspondents. The first are to receive salaries of 1200 lire, and the farther assistance to be afforded has, for the present, been fixed at 45,000 lire.

At the exhibition of arts in Milan, in 1838, there were 691 numbers in the catalogue, including 105 pieces of sculpture, by twenty-nine artists, namely, 2 groupes, 28 statues, 47 busts, &c. Among the pictures were: 77 historical paintings, 50 *tableaux de genre*, 126 landscapes, 77 views, 10 flower-pieces, 128 portraits, 34 in water-colours, &c. The works of living artists may be freely exported, but not old paintings, statues, manuscripts, &c.

LETTER XXVII.

Lombardy—Laws relative to the Press—The Clergy—Improvements in Lombardy.

Turin, May 1.

HAVING made you acquainted with the principles according to which the youth of Lombardy are educated, I come now to the principal points of the law relating to the censorship, by which it is intended to keep the grown children in order.

The censorship extends to all books printed in the country and to all those imported into it. A marked distinction is made between scientific works, not likely to fall into any hands but those of educated men, and books of mere entertainment or fiction, intended for the public at large. The former class of literature is treated with great forbearance; but, respecting the latter, the law of the 8th of March, 1815, says, "They are by no means deserving of the same indulgence, they are productive of no utility, and all that is valuable in them may be obtained from purer sources. All that operates injuriously on head and heart, and only tends to the excitement of the senses, must be suppressed. Firm resistance must be opposed to the dissemination of pernicious novel-reading. This is not meant to apply to the few that enlighten the mind and improve the heart, but to the mass of novels, which treat only of love-adventures, and fill the imagination with chimeras and illusions."

With extreme caution must those books be treated which touch on the limits of temporal and spiritual power. Writings that inculcate the doctrines of socinianism, deism, or materialism, must be repulsed. Nothing is to be printed respecting the emperor and his family, however laudatory it may be, without express permission.

Printed books are divided into four classes:

1st, *admittitur*, may freely pass; 2nd, *transeat*, may be sold, but not advertised or exhibited for sale; 3rd, *erga schedam*, may be delivered to safe and trustworthy persons; 4th, *damnatur*, prohibited. The same classification holds good with respect to manuscripts, for which, however, there is a fifth class: "*typum non meretur*, unworthy of being printed." "In this class," says the law, "are included those wretched worthless books the subject of which is without interest, and which are at variance with all good sense, as well as other miserable productions which violate good taste, the rules of style, and the purity of language."

A catalogue of the newspapers allowed to be imported is yearly drawn up at Vienna, and the Vienna papers are held up as a model by which those of the interior are to fashion themselves. The law says: "They ought to be attractive, true, and circumspect."

The theatres also are subject to a strict censorship, since much may be printed that must not be performed. Sanguinary and inhuman pieces must be rejected, and modesty is enjoined in gestures, dances, and costumes. A worthless king must not be presented as the principal character, unless there be a good and just king in the same piece, to counteract the evil impression produced by the former.

Five copies must be delivered of each book. No one is allowed to cause any work to be printed in a foreign country. This prohibition extends also to articles and letters in foreign newspapers and periodicals. Books on ecclesiastical law and ecclesiastical history are not referred to the bishops; but other theological and religious writings are submitted to them for approval. In case of a difference of opinion between them and the censors, the question must be referred to a superior authority.

I may be permitted here to add a few particulars respecting the position of the clergy in Lombardy. During the reign of Maria Theresa, and during the administration of Count Firmian (1762-1768) very important alterations took place in this respect. Personal privileges were curtailed, the power of vesting land in mortmain was diminished, the private prisons of religious houses, as well as asylums and inquisitions, were abolished, papal orders subjected to an *exequatur*, mixed ecclesiastical affairs referred to the decision of mixed tribunals, &c. The edict of toleration issued by Joseph II. (13th October, 1781) is in full force in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. It does not place Catholics and Protestants on a footing of equality, but allows the latter the performance of divine service in private, admits them into the several trades and corporations, and permits them to purchase real pro-

perty. If in a mixed marriage the father be a Catholic, the children must all be brought up in that religion; if he be a protestant, the sons only may be educated as protestants. A divorced protestant may contract a second marriage with a protestant but not with a catholic woman, unless the divorce has been occasioned by adultery, and the individual marrying again has not been the guilty party.

The emperor appoints the canons to the cathedral and collegiate churches, and confirms the appointment of certain patrons. The imposition of episcopal fees requires a similar confirmation. Among others, a certificate of the genuineness of a relic costs one florin.

Many convents for education and for the care of the sick have been re-opened, and the establishment of others permitted, without however the state taking on itself to assist in their support. No one is allowed to enter a convent until past twenty-four years of age, and one year must be spent in the noviciate.

The revenues of a bishop vary from 4765 to 16,666 fl.; of a parish priest from 191 to 3237; of a professor from 600 to 2000; of a schoolmaster from 350 to 600.

Although I have throughout these letters endeavoured to be as concise as possible, and have con-

sequently made many omissions, they have already swelled to a considerable bulk. Some deficiencies I shall be better able to supply on my return to Milan. At all events, I have attained a well-grounded conviction that the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom is in a state of progressive improvement, and the Austrian administration just, benevolent, and suitable. A native Italian may indeed desire something further; but let him beware of embracing a cloud instead of a goddess. I shall return to this text in the sequel, when I shall have better studied my sermon.

LETTER XXVIII.

Turin—Conversions to Catholicism.

Turin, April 28.

I AM told that an establishment has been formed here for the conversion of Protestants. A dissipated fellow who had received relief from ———, instead of going about his business, contrived to get again into distress; and, having applied to this institution, related with great glee that he had turned Catholic for the second time. It is true, added he, that I was so before, but I take care to make a very slow progress in religious

instruction ; so I can remain here and be well taken care of the whole winter.

The talents of the new French writers in the department of belles lettres are acknowledged here ; but their vile and immoral tendency is regarded, as well here as in other parts of Italy, with just aversion ; the principles of the modern historical school of Paris are also justly disliked.

LETTER XXIX.

Turin—Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Picture-Gallery—Academy.

Turin, May 3rd.

THE new papal state paper, with all its supplements, has fallen into my hands. Although I have not time to read it through, I can see that it is written in a good clear logical style. Instead, however, of troubling you with a repetition of a subject so often discussed, I will give you an impartial proof how far the unbridled fanaticism of catholics can carry them towards a forgetfulness of all justice and humanity. On the 19th of September, 1572, Tiepolo, the Venetian, then at Madrid, writes as follows, to Duke Emanuel of Savoy, on the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

" Chi tacerà a questo tempo le glorie della corona di Francia non solo non sarà Christiano ma nepur uomo civile. Giovane, da cosi lontano principio, ha saputo e potuto conduere a fine si gran negozio, e la fraude antiquata è stata dalla prudenza di un giovane superata. In un sol colpo con diversi allettamenti ha saputo raccogliere e rinchiudere le vipere più possenti. Queste più venenose si sogliono raccogliere e rinchiudere per farne con la lor morte medicamento salutifero agli ammalati. E questo nuovo Esculapio, o forse più vero Apollo, con l'istessa maniera ha partorito salute, non solo alla Francia, ma alla christianità, tutta che stava in punto di morte. Benedetto sia Dio, che ci ha fatto vedere a questo tempo cotal maraviglia. Stava il mondo in gran bilancio, ne sapeva alcun savio pronosticarne che male. Hora ognuno è atto a vederne qualunque bene. La Fiandra si vedra presto pacificato. Le armi cristianissime con le cattoliche, non solo non inimiche, ma in servizio di Dio (cosi spero) unitissime, che azione di questo sorte riesce maggior legame che quello di matrimonio. La religione christiana fortificata, la guerra col Turco più solda e più ferma che ella mai fusse. Niun altra conclusione adunque può farsi che buona. Questo non ho io potuto contenere di scrivere a Vostra Altezza per rallegrarmene, conoscendo quanto a lei, oltre il pubblico beneficio, possa importare tutto questo per la quiete dal pro-

prio stato. Ascrive adunque questo mio scrivere non a troppa licenza, ma a molto divozione."*

After passing some time to-day at the Archives di Camera, in looking through books of copies, and finding only a few original documents of which I could make any use, I went to the royal picture-

* "He who could now be silent concerning the glory of the French crown would be, not only no christian, but no honest man. A young man has had the knowledge and capacity to bring to a conclusion so great a business from so distant an origin, and an ancient fraud has been overcome by the prudence of a youth. He has contrived, by various enticements, though by a single stroke, to draw together and to enclose the most powerful serpents—as it is customary to bring and shut up together the most poisonous kinds, that by their deaths they may prepare a salutary medicine for the sick. Thus has this new Esculapius, or rather this true Apollo, employed a similar method to ensure the safety not only of France, but of all christendom, which lay at the point of death. Blessed be God who has given unto us to behold such a miracle: the world stood in great peril, and the wisest could prognosticate nothing but evil. Now every one has some hopes of good. Flanders will soon be pacified, the most christian and the catholic army will now not only cease to fight one another, but unite, (so I hope) for the service of God, and conclude an alliance which shall be stronger than that of matrimony. The christian religion will be fortified, the war with the Turks more steadily and vigorously pursued than ever. No other than good consequences can follow. I could not resist writing to your Highness to express the joy of my heart, knowing what interest you take in this event, not only for the public welfare, but also on account of the tranquillity of your own states. I beg you therefore to ascribe the liberty I have taken, not to presumption, but to my great devotion."

gallery, and am half tempted to break my resolution not to trouble you with descriptions of pictures. The collection is certainly richer and more various than it is in general supposed to be, and no lover of art should omit seeing it. There are some capital paintings by Ferrari, Luini, Bellini, Titian, Francia, Guido, Bronzino, Domenichino, Andrea del Sarto, Cesare, &c. A Raphael I should have taken, from the colouring, for a Giulio Romano, though the invention and design are in the manner of the former master. Cheerful pieces with children by Albani, exquisite flower and fruit pieces, Netherlanders of all classes, from general field-marshal Luca d'Olanda to Vandyke and later masters. There is an excellent crucifixion attributed to Mabuse, with a couple of female heads of extraordinary beauty. Two first-rate Claudes, &c. But to return to my last.

I have to-day completed my work on Lombardy. It may serve not only as a specimen of my industry, but also of my good fortune in having had such thoroughly well informed men to assist me. Of all that is contained in it you probably know nothing, and you might learn much from it—yet am I well convinced that scarcely any one will read it through. However this may be, it has at least afforded me both pleasure and occupation.

I dined yesterday with the Marchese Cavour,

and from him received much information concerning the situation of Turin. Count Balbo afterwards took me with him to the Academy, where Count Paluzzo officiated as President, and Counts Petiti and Sclopis read two excellent papers. It would puzzle me to find in ——— four such learned counts. Petiti argued against certain fallacies and fancies which have found their way into criminal statistics in France and the Netherlands, where everlasting truths are inferred from false figures, and a relation of cause and effect supposed, where it does not exist. For instance, it has been discovered that more crimes are committed in a country where many people can read; as if reading, or not reading, could be a cause of theft. It often happens besides that no attention at all is paid to the opportunities and temptations to crime which may exist. For instance, it is considered remarkable that more should be stolen in London than in the Swiss mountains, where there is nothing to steal. The second treatise by Count Sclopis related the development of the notions of law in the middle ages, especially as respects Thomas Aquinas and Dante. It displayed profound thought and was well written. That the treatise *De Regimine Principum* could not be by Thomas Aquinas he maintained on the same grounds as I have advanced in my essay on the school divines.

LETTER XXX.

Turin—Society—Holidays—Court Etiquette—Climate—Ecclesiastical Relations.

Turin, May 4th.

THE evening party yesterday was exactly like the preceding one at ———'s. These assemblies have a certain resemblance throughout Europe—at least, in their external forms—freedom of coming and going—conversation various but continually interrupted. As far as I know, an Italian *soirée* is no farther distinguished from an English rout than that tea and cooling beverages are offered to the guests. For beauty, I must certainly give the palm to the English ladies, but the entertainment in Italy is more frequently varied by music. Yesterday, a lady played the piano-forte with great brilliancy and precision, but the composition was the most trivial, confused, and unmeaning possible, and I thought the remark of Count ———, that piano-forte playing tired him after the first half-hour, very natural. After a little hesitation, I asked the name of the composer, and received the dreaded answer: "It is most likely some German stuff." When, however, the name of our Weber was mentioned, I boldly denied the possibility of its being his, or of his having ever written such trash. It turned out to be by Hertz!

Beauty is no doubt a great gift of God; but the greater, rarer, and happier gift, that of knowing what is beautiful. This would appear to be as easy as to open one's eyes and ears; yet does it not sometimes seem easier to discover the truth in politics, philosophy, or religion?

Many houses were illuminated here last evening, especially those belonging to official persons of distinction. On inquiring the reason, I was told that it was the eve of the anniversary of the discovery of the holy napkin or handkerchief of St. Veronica. The police went round and recommended that all shops should be kept shut to-day, as such a piece of piety would prove acceptable. By-the-by, there is a dispute between Turin and some other city which of them possesses the genuine handkerchief.

I understand that it is the opinion of the authorities here that the people are not to be governed without the aid of superstition.

"I cannot ask you to come and see me to-morrow, or the day after," said a personage high in office to me, "for I *must* fast. We are closely watched to see whether we do this or not, and it has the greatest influence on our advancement, and on the favour or the contrary which is shown to us."

It is perhaps hardly fair to bring forward detached facts of this kind, as one is often tempted to

generalize too hastily from single instances. *Ex ungue leonem*, however, is often a correct rule enough. When I look with admiration and reverence on the noble style of the Catholic churches, and then hear such trivialities spoken of as essential points from which it is terrible heresy to depart, it seems to me as if any one should shew me a cork model of the Colosseum, and declare it to be the real one.

It became a question whether I should apply to be presented to the king; but being informed that it was absolutely indispensable that I should appear in a full and expensive court dress, such as I did not possess, I was obliged to renounce all hope of such an honour.

It is very well, perhaps, on extraordinary occasions to be strict in the observance of external forms, but in ordinary cases I cannot see that it is decorous to make the tailor the captain of the guard. These *sartorial* barriers shut out from kings many a useful prospect.

Turin is beautifully situated, in the centre of a rich plain, adorned and fertilized by two rivers; looking on one side towards Lombardy, and on the other to hills adorned with trees, churches, villas, and castles, while on the third and fourth sides rise the wild and rugged Alps, their summits clothed in everlasting snow.

The average height of the thermometer from January to August was 13° of Reaumur (61°F.), and there were 164 days fine for 95 rainy and 126 changeable. Since I have been here three violent thunder-storms have passed over the town, and the air has been purified, the dust laid, and the spring brought forward in all its splendour.

It is quite natural that ——— should disapprove of the present order of things; and he declared that, though he had always esteemed Germany, since he had lived in Italy he adored it. He considered it, nevertheless, necessary that a part of the Rhine country should belong to France. "*Il nous faut là un petit coin.*" He reminded me of the reply of the Prince de Ligne, who, when Joseph II. asked him what was said of him in Belgium, answered: "*On dit que votre Majesté veut notre bien,*" and of the dog in Faust, who, though small at first, gradually swells to an enormous size.

On account of the above-mentioned holy handkerchief of St. Veronica, the palace, the public buildings, and the residence of some official persons, were this day illuminated. The city on ordinary occasions is profoundly dark. The court will also attend the benediction in the church from four to six o'clock, for seventeen days.

It is stated that a sick nun here, who had been given up by the physicians, recovered, after swal-

lowing a few threads from the chemise of a female saint, administered to her in some broth. She died soon afterwards indeed, but of course she could not expect to escape the common fate of mortals. Tell our friend H—— to take care to get this medicine introduced into the Prussian Pharmacopœia. Another specific administered some time ago to a nun wrought a still more surprising miracle—namely, a double life! *Suum cuique*—Live and let live!

LETTER XXXI.

Turin—The Court—The Travelled Sergeant.

Turin, May 5th.

I HAVE just come from the palace, where I saw the king and queen pass through a saloon on their way to the church. First came the red-liveried attendants, then an immense number of civil and military officials (the uniform resembling that of Prussia) after them, pages with red coats, yellow breeches, and white stockings; then the king, the queen, chamberlains, ladies of honour, and all suitable appendages. The court is numerous—especially in the departments of the church and the chase. For the former, twenty-four chaplains, six domestic chaplains, and several almoners, besides physicians, ladies of the palace, &c. &c.

An old sergeant, to whose guidance I was entrusted, had, I found, been in Berlin, and in many parts of Germany. He was present at the battle of Eylau, and had afterwards been sent to Siberia.—So that he had been a traveller, as he said, *par force*. For several years he had learned no German, and always thought people were talking of or abusing him. It was not till he had got to Ratisbon that he was enabled by the instructions he received from a young and handsome girl to learn so much that he can still express himself tolerably in German. To my question, whether he thought he could get lessons for me from a similar teacher, he replied, with extreme courtesy, that I was much better qualified to give lessons here in pure Italian.

LETTER XXXII.

Turin—Royal Message.

Turin, May 8th.

THE king appears to have heard something of my presence here, and of the poverty of my wardrobe. In order that the law may, at the same time, be enforced and mitigated, a gracious command has been issued that I do this day, at eleven o'clock, visit the collection of medals and armour, in company with Count ———, and that I then and there await what may happen to me.

LETTER XXXIII.

Turin—The Armoury—The King—Country Excursion—The Waldenses.

Turin, May 12.

I DROVE to the palace with Count———, and inspected the collection of medals and armour, founded by the present King Charles Albert. It is wonderful how much has been done in a short time. The collection of armour more particularly deserves notice, not merely in an historical point of view, for it contains many works of art of high value, among others a shield attributed to Benvenuto Cellini, the design and execution of which could not easily be exceeded in richness and beauty. The king came as I had been told he would. He is a tall man, with an expression of mildness and good-humour in his countenance. He spoke neither with affected haughtiness nor with affected condescension, but in a perfectly natural, simple, and sensible manner. Our conversation was chiefly about Sardinia, where, as you shall learn hereafter, the king has effected great and truly beneficial changes. I took the liberty to remind him of some Prussian matters, and to observe, that measures blamed in the commencement often in the end lead to great advantages, and ensure universal satisfaction.

On Thursday I went with Count——— through the verdant plain, richly studded with vines and trees, towards Pignerol. Thence we turned off in the direction of Latour, reached S. Margaritta, and paid a visit to Madame Bert, the widow of the *moderateur* of that name. In the evening we supped with three English ladies, one of whom is married to the son of Madame Bert. The two others have been travelling about in the world for the last three years.

On Friday, walked in the valley of Angrogne as far as Serres. A tremendous storm wetted us to the skin, affording Madame Bert an opportunity of assisting us unexpectedly with dry shirts and stockings. Visited the hospital, the gymnasium, and the seminary for young ladies. All these establishments were clean, orderly, and sensibly arranged, erected chiefly by the aid of contributions from abroad. In the afternoon drove towards Villars, as far as Bobbi. The evening like that of yesterday. A sad Babel, with four languages spoken at once.

Such is the dry index for two days, to which I must add, that I returned yesterday. I want time and skill to fill up the outline, and can only tell you, that I have seen and luxuriated in all the gradations of nature, from the richly cultivated plain of a sunny land to narrow alpine valleys, bordered by mountains capped with eternal snow; from the

rich vineyard and the chestnut grove, by the side of beetling rocks and foaming waterfalls, to gentians and alpine vegetation. In these regions I beheld a simple well-meaning race, who, unless persecuted, do harm to nobody, and have resisted every temptation to renounce allegiance to their oppressive government. While revelling in the beauties of nature, I did all I could to forget the atrocities committed in these valleys of the Waldenses, in the name of a religion of love. Even now, things are not as they should be, and as to anything like an equality of rights between the two sects, such a thing is not even dreamed of. The Waldenses are shut up in their valleys, as the Jews in the Jews' quarter; they are not permitted to make any fresh purchases of landed property, and constant endeavours are made to obtain by chicanery and insult what barbarity was unable to effect. During the time of the French (we must not allow their failings to make us forget their good points) toleration was much more general, and went much further; nor was there then even the semblance of priestly rule. Here we have a Catholic clergyman walling up every window in his house that he may not see the Protestant church. But let us remember Ireland! Truly, Protestant and Catholic have alike cause to smite their breasts, and cry out: Lord, be merciful to me a sinner!—How far are we still from the

genuine spirit of christianity! how few of us are yet able to rise above mere sectarianism! how many still place hatred higher than love!

LETTER XXXIV.

Turin—The Academy—An Old Beau—Anecdotes of Royalty.

Turin, May 13.

I attended yesterday, by invitation, a sitting of the physico-mathematical class of the Academy. A paper by M. Moris on some new Sardinian plants, and one by Minabrea, on the vibrations of strings, were of value in a scientific point of view; that of Professor Géné on the habits and instincts of some insects might have been listened to with interest even by ladies. I was introduced yesterday to the well-known ———, who still affects to be the *élégant à quatre épingles*. It came out accidentally that he is much about my age, and I was angry with myself, or with my corporeal man, that I was not in a better state of preservation. On closer observation, however, I thought I could perceive that the colour in his face was produced externally, whereas mine proceeds uncalled for from within; while from beneath the beautiful black hair of the head and whiskers some grey traitors were espied; lastly, he would not lay aside his stick, his gout, as

he said, not permitting him to dispense with its aid. All these things considered, I thought my body entitled to a *réparation d'honneur*.

If I could recollect and write down all the curious things I occasionally hear, you would be more amused with my letters. For example, Charles Felix used to say that, but for the soldiers and the students, there would be no such things as public disturbances. He never could be prevailed upon to be present at any military exercises, and if he met any soldiers by accident, he used to draw the curtains of his carriage windows. "Give them," he said, "what uniform you like; *fuggiranno!*"—After the restoration in 1814, King Victor Emanuel asked, in great anxiety, "what was to be done?" "For sevenpence, sire," replied an old legitimist minister, "your majesty may put everything into the best order immediately. Buy an old state-calendar for the year 90, and replace all as you find it there:" and this wise counsel was literally followed. —When theambassadors after the victory of the Austrians over the Neapolitans in 1821 pressed King Ferdinand to return to Naples, he made a thousand excuses, and at last exclaimed, "*Che volete. Io sono anche Napolitano, ho paura!* The man whom he with tears in his eyes and the most urgent entreaties had forced to accept the office of war-minister, he afterwards allowed to be tried and condemned, and it

was only by the most pressing solicitations that he was induced to save him from the last extremity of the law! A text for a long commentary!

LETTER XXXV.

Journey from Turin to Genoa.

Genoa, May 17.

JUST as I had closed my letter to you on my birthday, (the 14th,) I saw in the State Gazette an account of the death of Gans. A hint this to a colleague, his senior by many years. His death is a serious loss to the university and to his friends; for though, misled by his talent, he gave way too much to declamation, and allowed his vanity sometimes to disturb his own tranquillity, yet he was kind-hearted, full of genius and information, and advancing years, while they increased his knowledge, would have corrected the restlessness of his character. But Heaven has willed it otherwise! Peace be to his ashes, even though he repose by the side of his old antagonist, Klenze, who so lately went before him!

It was the finest weather possible, when, seated in the cabriolet, I left Turin for Genoa. To the left lay the richly cultivated hills, to the right the Po; then past Montcarlier into the wide plain that

stretches away beyond Alessandria. Not but that there are many hills and undulations, but, above all, my eye feasted on the ocean of green wheat, on the meadows arrayed in the gayest colours, and the banks of the Tanaro; and I rejoiced at the sound of the crickets (celebrated in Tieck's Travelling Poems) which I now heard again for the first time during the course of my present journey. At Asti, I could not refrain from tasting the celebrated wine, though I must own I thought the bottle of Sauterne given me by Count U—T—decidedly to be preferred.

Night is no man's friend, at least not in a diligence; it passed away quickly, however, for we got on at a good pace. The old *Snail Post* in Prussia has indeed acquired some title to its name of *Schnell Post*, but is still behind the Piedmontese. Firstly, the horses go faster here; secondly, men and horses are in readiness at the end of every stage, and the cattle are changed in two minutes at the most; and this secures one, thirdly, against the intolerable *Schnapps* nuisance. Imitate what is good!

At daybreak, we had passed the summit of the new road, and were going down hill towards Genoa. Olives, fig-trees, and cypresses, announced that we had entered the second great division of Italy. I asked myself again, why the houses and palaces scattered along the sides of the mountains appeared

so much more romantic and poetical than those of so many other countries? It is certainly not owing to any prevailing excellence in an artistical point of view, nor in a superior state of preservation, nor in the occasional occurrence of picturesque decay; it is chiefly owing to the absence of any general rule, which elsewhere leads to such fatiguing repetitions. The individuality of the Italian character is as strongly marked in their houses as in their persons. Doors, windows, roofs, arches, chimneys, &c. are designed and disposed by every man according to his own fancy or judgment, without troubling himself about the laws of architecture, the opinions of his neighbours, or the censure of travelling critics.

LETTER XXXVI.

Situation of Genoa—Marchese di Negro—Disturbance on account of the Opera Dancers' Drawers.

Genoa, May 18th.

I ENJOYED a spectacle of nature yesterday, such as one cannot hope to meet with often in the course of a life. At the commencement of the Strada Muragliette, I mounted the wall which separates the city from the port, outstretched in the form of a vast bow, and passed the Ponte (quay) della Segna, the Ponte Spinola, the Ponte Reale, that della Mercanza, and the Mandraccio, and then

walked along the Molo Vecchio out into the sea; then on to the end of the city, and returned the same way. The sky was covered with clouds of every shape and colour, and the waves were running remarkably high. In the distance, the sea appeared of a deep azure; assuming a lighter shade in proportion to its proximity, then a greenish, then a yellowish tinge, till the angry waves that broke upon the rocks below were dissolved into a white foam, or, dashing immediately against the walls, threw up their spray into the street. Sometimes a recoiling wave would encounter another that was following close behind, and in the furious onset that ensued both would break, resolving themselves apparently into innumerable fragments of snowy down. I never beheld the sea more beautiful or more magnificent. Then you must bear in mind the many deviations of the way, the endless variety of the prospect along the shore: the new Molo and the lighthouse closing the prospect on one side; then the beautiful hills with their gardens and villas, that rise behind the Strada della Lanterna; the fortifications, on their summits; houses, churches, and palaces crowding together; the hills rising in terraces one above another; the whole forming a panorama that few spots in the world can match.

This enjoyment was repeated in the afternoon, at the house of the Marchese G. C. di Negro, an

agreeable well-informed man, and almost the only one who sees company and receives strangers. He has a splendid collection of engravings, including some specimens of Albrecht Dürer, and many rare specimens of the old masters. Also a beautiful antique basso-relievo representing combats, and other works of art in such number as can be brought together only where great wealth and good taste are combined. All this was, however, of secondary importance to me. The garden, with its olive-trees, its oranges, lemons, rose-bushes, vines, terraces, mossy rocks, and palm-tree, reminded me of the gardens of Armida. In every direction the view is unique. The city, the hills, the harbour, the sea; you have elsewhere beautiful prospects in two or three directions, but here you have them in each of the thirty-two points of the compass, and in such rapid and varied succession do they follow, that you are at a loss to which to give the preference.

At table a new discovery. It was only on the last day of my stay at Venice, that I was introduced at the Ateneo to the Sicilian Marchese G—, who gave me letters for Sicily. Yesterday, three of his daughters were of the party, and I sat next to one of them—a lady, full of life, and, what will surprise you more, full of information. The sisters would gladly have seen me at Venice, but had been told that I was a *fiero protestante*. You may thence

judge what *epitheta ornantia* would fall to the lot of certain persons in Berlin!

I must tell you of a great revolution that has broken out here in the drawers of the ballet-dancers. These ladies were wont, as with us, to make their rotatory and saltatory movements in flesh-coloured drawers made of a knitted fabric denominated *tricot*. One evening they made their appearance on the stage in green pantaloons that descended some way below the knee. General surprise and horror ensued, and every body was asking whence and why the innovation. The replies were various. According to some, the new fashion was an importation from Naples; according to others the police at least was innocent of this public outrage, and, in a true spirit of conservatism, was decidedly opposed to so ill-timed a reform. At the second performance, the said pantaloons had shrunk visibly in their dimensions, either in the wash or through some other external cause, so that there was a prospect that, by a gradually progressive abridgment, they would in time be reduced to the moderate dimension of the antique fig-leaf. Renewed impatience, however, on the part of the public, and a new budget of explanations. It was said that the manager was about to marry a virgin under the protection of the Jesuits, and that the lady had insisted on a change in the pantaloons of

the ballet-dancers. Many accused the manager of an intentional violation of decorum, and he was hooted in the public streets, and advised to wear his wife's drawers, because ——. The police, however, has thought the matter rather too serious; many young men have been arrested, and others have gone into the country, to avoid a similar visitation. Reports have been drawn up, and these, together with a variety of sample pantaloons, have been duly submitted to the proper authorities. As yet it is quite uncertain how the matter will end, or what form and constitution the ballet-dancers' pantaloons will finally assume.

LETTER XXXVII.

Turin—Carlo Felice Theatre.

Genoa, May 19th.

I WENT last night to the Carlo Felice theatre. I thought the still unsettled pantaloon agitation, together with a new ballet, would insure a crowded house; but I found it nearly empty, and had abundant time to count the six rows of boxes, and to examine the drop scene with the most scrupulous exactness. *Il Giuramento di Mercadante*, I had been told, displayed a knowledge of harmony, and belonged, in some measure, to the modern German

school. Of the said knowledge I could discover no trace, and as to the Germanism, it consisted at most in a few reminiscences of Weber, and his occasional fragmentary style, but his genius and invention were altogether wanting. To my judgment, the music was bad, nor was a hand stirred throughout the whole of the first act. The singers were insignificant, though the women had one recommendation, namely, that they did not scream so terribly loud as is done in most places. I longed for the ballet, for I had made a vow to remain to the end of the performance. Yet, so tedious and full of dry repetitions was the whole, that I would fain have broken my vow, had I not been so hemmed in that I could not stir. I am happy to say I have now done my duty to the theatre as far as Genoa is concerned.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Genoa—The Sudario—Politics—Queen Victoria.

Genoa, May 20th.

YESTERDAY was Whitsunday. A sentimental declaimer might conjure up a highly coloured picture on the subject, but I have no talent for such things, and must candidly own, that I saw nothing uncommon or remarkable. In the churches the music was bad, and more profane than sacred; in

costumes I saw nothing to be noticed, unless it be the white veils of the ladies. The streets were crowded, and here, for the first time, I recognized the genuine beauty of Italy; there was, indeed, no lack of ugliness, but there is, upon the whole, more character and distinction among the women, than I have seen anywhere since I left Trieste.

An Italian advised me to go to the church of St. Bartolomeo, and see what was shown only on that day, and remained, during the other 364 days, closely concealed under fourteen locks and keys, namely another *Sudario!* Now, though I do not exactly play the *fiero protestante*, yet I could not help avowing myself on this point a sceptic, with not the least inclination to trouble myself about such matters. The *Sudario*, said my informant, was, at all events, a remarkable specimen of Constantinopolitan manufacture in the middle ages. This was certainly looking at the subject in a different point of view; still I preferred the beauties of nature to the curiosities of the Byzantine loom.

Many of the churches are built in a very bad taste, and even Carignan is a cold whitewashed imitation of St. Peter's. Statues, as I have already said, that do not exist for me, or for which I have not been created; for connoisseurs, there are some better pictures in a good state of preservation, by Guercino, Procaccini, Piola, and others.

A general complaint here is, that the walls around the harbour are raised so much, by way of preventing smuggling, that the terraces and the best floors are completely deprived of view. I can scarcely believe it; such barbarism would be too bad, and what is more, the object proposed would certainly not even be attained.

Tuesday, May 21st.

I have not talked politics to you for a long time, and am sadly in arrear with my newspaper reading, still I cannot suppress an ejaculation over late occurrences in Paris. The French fancy themselves at the head of the movement and at the head of civilization; yet is it not true that they are labouring without rest or intermission to advance on the road to liberty, at a regular horse-in-the-mill style? What object have they in view? What general principle is recognised among them? Where is there a sympathy of feeling founded upon truth and justice? Instead of these, we have a constant return to arbitrary power, constant dissatisfaction and murder and slaughter for what happens to be the caprice of the hour, either with the high mob or the low. The better part of the nation, it is true, keep aloof, but they also are affected by these occurrences, as is shown by the bankruptcies in France and Belgium; besides, a long conti-

nuance of such a morbid condition must affect the moral and religious character of a nation.

Peel, it seems, has not been able to shake off the Ultra-Tories, or to forget that the bow must not be bent too much. It was surely enough for the queen to leave him perfectly unrestrained in the formation of the government; she was right not to allow her female friends to be taken from her, not to endure an act of oppression which the meanest woman in her kingdom would have struggled against. Her firmness of character will gain her many partizans, particularly among the women; and, for my own part, I am delighted to see a queen show that a monarch should not be a mere puppet, an empty symbol, a political machine, to be wound up, set agoing, and allowed to stand still again, according to the will of another. There was no sufficient political ground for a demand that she should part with her female associates; it was an "ungentlemanlike" demand; and the minister who has a majority in the two houses, or knows how to acquire one, need not be frightened by a handful of old women; no, nor of young girls either. The queen, impelled by a quick feeling of justice, has rightly scouted these abstract party notions. God speed her farther!

LETTER XXXIX.

Piedmont—Administration—Council of State—Jurisprudence—Municipal Regulations—Turin; Revenues and Expenditure of the City.

Turin, May 4th.

An inhabitant of Turin said to me: "We are one half a camp, and the other half a cloister." There is no want certainly of the elements to form the two parts, that is to say there is no want of soldiers or priests, who, with their motley uniforms, attract the attention of strangers, and the partiality or dislike of the natives.

As there is neither a representative, nor a parliamentary nor a mixed constitution in the Sardinian states, everything reposes on the royal family and the administration. The royal family has for centuries kept certain plans steadily in view, and has gained the attachment of the people, by enlarging their rights, and imposing limits on the extravagant privileges of individuals and corporations. We frequently find the Sardinian monarchs, in this respect, in the same road that has been taken by those of Prussia. In such a state of things, an undue preponderance of the class of public officers, a certain degree of bureaucracy, is unavoidable. This, in Prussia, has in some measure been corrected by

the collegiate form, and in more recent times by the town and provincial states; whereas, in Turin, the complaint is, that the system of centralization has of late years been constantly on the increase. Take it all in all, a strong government is better than a weak one, still I think it a very mistaken idea to suppose it more easy to govern a multitude of individuals than a small number of corporations.

We have here five ministers or secretaries of state: for the Interior, for War and the Marine, for Finance, for Justice, and for Foreign Affairs. There is a separate administration for Sardinia, and altogether different arrangements, of which I shall speak further in the sequel.

In each province, the whole power of government is placed in the hands of an intendant, who, if in some subordinate relations inferior to the French prefect, is greater, inasmuch as he has no council or independent body to control him. Intendants of an inferior class are appointed for the towns and districts. The salaries of these officers vary from 800 to 6600 lire. All these persons are removeable, and it is likely that here, as well as in France, this power is carried to an injurious length. On account of this excess of the personal over the collegiate and formal, the establishment of a council of state was a great advantage. Concerning its consitution and the progress

of legislation, I communicate the following particulars from the new civil code. It is there stated, that the king alone has the right of making laws. These, after being heard in council, are issued either as edicts or as letters patent. They are signed by the king, as well as by the minister whom they may concern, and by the comptroller-general. These latter, as well as other ministers, are required to examine the laws before affixing the Great Seal to them, and if they see anything objectionable in them, to communicate their scruples to the king. The duty of a similar revision of laws not yet promulgated is also imposed on some of the superior tribunals.

The state-council is the centre of all important discussions. It consists of a president and fourteen ordinary members. Among the extraordinary ones, whose number is not determined, are two knights of the order of the *Annunziata*, two bishops, and fourteen members for the provinces.

It is considered beneath the dignity of a member of this council to hold any paid office. The ministers, however, are allowed, at the command of the king, to assist at the council, but they have no vote.

This council is divided into three departments: 1st,—that of the interior; 2ndly,—that for legal and ecclesiastical affairs; and 3rdly, for finance.

The first and third can form a board with only three members, the second with not less than five.

It is the business of the council to debate on and examine all laws and ordinances; (and it is to be hoped they may never neglect this part of their duty) —to determine, in case of dispute, the exact boundaries of the power and office of each minister—to hear appeals from the senate and upper financial chamber—to receive proposals for the imposition of fresh taxes, or for changes to be made in those already existing—for loans—for the erection of schools and other benevolent institutions—for improvements in agriculture or manufactures, &c.—but to take no cognisance of matters connected with war, foreign affairs, or with the household.

In every district there is a *giudice da mandamento*, who hears disputes concerning property, to the amount of 300 lire, but from whose judgment an appeal is permitted, when the amount exceeds 100, or when a fine of more than 10 lire is inflicted. In each of the 37 provinces, there is a *tribunale di prefettura*, with a president, and from two to six councillors, one government advocate, and subordinate officers. They decide in the first instance in all cases for which there is no other tribunal, and on all such as are usually considered to belong to the *droit administratif*. Every one is obliged, during

the sittings, to wear a black robe of office, and questions are decided by a majority of voices.

With respect to the cities, there are laws of 1738, 1775, and 1783, which are still in force, and are referred to in the more recent regulations of 1815 and 1838. Turin, Genoa, and some other towns having particular privileges, excepted, they are all governed by the above-mentioned laws. There is no representative body of citizens to exercise any control over the magistracy, but the whole conduct of affairs lies in the hands of the intendant and his superiors.

In justification of this mode of procedure are alleged the dangers from the neighbourhood of France, from the Italian national character, and from the tendency towards an oligarchical concentration of power in the hands of a few, to the injury of the bulk of the people, which would be sure to arise from elections.

Every town of more than 3000 inhabitants has one syndic and five councillors; and those of from 1000 to 3000, one syndic, and from three to five councillors.

These magistrates, according to ancient custom, receive no pay, and since the influence of the intendant and the ministers has been so much increased, the desire to fill those offices has perceptibly declined. They perform indeed many useful

and praiseworthy offices in the city, but it is nevertheless maintained by those who are qualified to give an opinion, that their authority is far too much circumscribed by the extension of the central and ministerial power, and that the municipal spirit has been weakened by this means, and a prejudice created, that the only security for order and freedom rests on the adoption of a uniform system of allowing all power to emanate from the government.

Very different from this general system is that yet prevailing in Turin. Sixty decurions, 30 from the nobles and 30 from the other classes of citizens are chosen for life, for the direction of general affairs. The election is made thus: the four elder decurions, called *Chiavari*, two of the first and two of the second class, draw up two lists in which each class proposes three persons for every vacant place. It is permitted to canvass for the office of a decurion. When the *Chiavari* have agreed as nearly as possible with the magistrates, (*congregazione* and *ragioneri*) respecting the proposal, the double register is submitted to the decurions, who fill up the vacant offices from the names they find there.

The magistracy (*la congregatione*) is composed of two burgomasters, or syndics, for the two classes, a president of the finance department, four accountants, a keeper of the archives, a secretary, the two burgomasters for the preceding year, and ten

councillors. The latter are chosen, an equal number from each class. The decurions choose the burgomasters, the president of finance and the councillors for one year, and the accountants for two years. The burgomasters must have been previously accountants, and the finance president burgomaster. The burgomasters chosen directly by the decurions on the 31st of December are merely presented to the king on the first of January; neither a previous inquiry nor subsequent satisfaction being necessary. On the other hand, a deputy, chosen from among the decurions by the king, is always present at the sittings, though not directly taking part in the proceedings, to watch that no injury be offered to the rights of the crown.

The yearly receipts and expenses of the city of Turin are nearly as follows:—

RECEIPTS.

	lire.
1. From the taxes on consumption, which bring in to the state about 1,600,000 lire, the city receives a fixed sum of	430,000
2. Tax on hay, straw, and oats	140,000
3. Toll at the mills, 1-16th of the flour, including the expense of grinding ...	300,000
4. Butchers' tax	100,000
5. Tax on all venders of provisions (4 to 10 lire).....	30,000

	lire.
6. Various fixed receipts	100,000
7. Uncertain receipts	200,000
Total	1,300,000

EXPENCES.

1. Interest, life annuities 400,000 } fixed ..... 300,000 } ...	700,000
2. Lighting of the city	300,000
3. Police	80,000
4. Country expenditure (for instance for roads)	60,000
5. Foundling hospitals	40,000
6. Salaries	40,000
7. Schools	60,000
8. Sundries	20,000
Total	1,300,000

This statement might furnish occasion for some inquiries, if I had more time to pursue them. For instance, whether the independence of the smaller towns might not be increased, since the great privileges of the capital do not seem to have produced any disadvantageous results to the general government? Whether it might not be possible to re-awaken and keep alive the idea of the duties of the citizen, as well as of councillors and decurions? Whether the yearly duration of the syndicate, and the simultaneous change of both burgomasters, be

productive of no inconvenience? Whether it would not be better to appropriate to the maintenance of the poor the funds now devoted to the vicious foundling hospitals, since there is at present no provision for them in Turin? It is true that some benevolent attempts have been made to supply this deficiency, but it appears to me a very mistaken method of effecting this end, to furnish paupers with an official license to beg on the high road.

It is to be hoped that this practice will soon be abandoned, and the idle objections now made to a better system be overcome.

LETTER XL.

Piedmont—Code of Laws—Ecclesiastical Law—Waldenses, Jews—Law of Marriage—Domains—Majorats.

Turin, May 5th.

Since the year 1838, a new civil code has been adopted in the Sardinian states.

The earlier administration of justice reposed on general laws (*constituzioni*) local statutes, and decisions of the court. Respecting the first, Pecchio says, in his excellent work on political economy, (p. 232) "Piedmont was the first country which, by its constituzioni of 1729, abolished nearly the whole system of feudal authority and personal

service, leaving scarcely any but honorary privileges in force. Secondly, it limited the right of primogeniture and of entailment, and thereby enlarged the free cultivation of the soil. Thirdly, it diminished the power of the clergy, more particularly that of investing land in mortmain. These constituzioni were revised in 1770, and confirmed with few alterations."

I would gladly make a few extracts from the recent code, but a few points may be sufficient to give you an idea of its merits, as well as of its defects. Duelling is punished with death, even though neither combatant should be killed or wounded. The torture may be applied in cases where the punishment would be death, or a sentence to the galleys. The Jews are confined to a separate street, must wear a yellow badge, are not allowed to go out at night, or to purchase landed property. All forests are under the superintendence of the state, &c.

In 1803, the French code was introduced, but in 1814 abolished, when the former system was restored. This sudden change occasioned much confusion and dissatisfaction, and a few isolated ordinances were insufficient to reduce the legal chaos into anything like harmony. The present king, therefore, very wisely directed a new code to be drawn up. In their instructions, dated the 7th of

June, 1831, those intrusted with the task are told that " they are to condense the national laws, and introduce such changes as inexperience and the modern relations of society may render necessary; but they are not to show any partiality for innovation, unless the utility be perfectly evident."

Unquestionably the adoption of the new code was a great improvement, compared with the previously existing state of things. Complaints continued, however, to be made, partly against the general character of the code, partly against individual paragraphs. The most remarkable attack has been that of Count Portalis, which has been met by the defence of Count Sclopis. The former maintains and the latter denies that the motive of the promulgation was to extinguish all traces of the code of Napoleon. Neither the assertion nor the denial, in my opinion, make either for or against the merit of the composition. To love the old because it is old is just as absurd as to hate the new because it is new. A more positive and severe censure is directed by Count Portalis against the first three paragraphs, which are these:—

1. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the only religion of the state.

2. The king feels it an honour to be the protector of the Church, and to enforce obedience to all its laws, the promulgation of which pertains to the

Church. The high officers of the government are to see to the maintenance of perfect unanimity between Church and State, and exercise their authority in all ecclesiastical matters, according to law and ancient usage.

3. Other confessions are only tolerated in the state according to the customs and ordinances already existing with respect to them.

When Count Sclopis, in defence of these articles, asserts that the ancient usages for a long period maintained real tranquillity in Piedmont, while in neighbouring states religious disturbances frequently broke out, the assertion is correct, as far as the relation of the Catholic Church to the Catholic State is concerned; but to their too intimate connexion may be attributed the sanguinary scenes which occurred in the valleys of the Waldenses about the beginning of the 18th century. The third paragraph, it must also be owned, is often successfully made use of by zealots, to induce the government to maintain severe restrictions, and even to renew such as may have fallen into disuse. Among these is the regulation by which the Waldenses are prohibited from acquiring landed property without the limits of their narrow district; and that which directs the illegitimate child of a Vaudois mother to be taken from her by force, and to be brought up as a catholic, whatever the religion

of the father may be, and even though he should be willing to marry the mother. By another regulation, the Catholic clergy and the magistrates are authorised to take away even legitimate children, should these declare their willingness to become converts to the Catholic faith; and, to make such a declaration, a boy need only have completed his twelfth and a girl her eleventh year. The means employed for attaining this end are never censured, and, if successful, the seducer is always considered to have performed a meritorious act.

I cannot certainly approve of *every* measure adopted lately by the Prussian government with respect to the Catholic Church, but there can be no greater injustice than to speak of the king of Prussia as a persecutor of the Catholics, seeing that in a thousand ways he shows himself quite as solicitous for their welfare as for that of the Protestants; that restrictions like those mentioned above are unheard of; that his General Field Marshal was a Catholic, and that the rector of the university, elected in 1839, and confirmed by the King, is a most zealous Catholic.

The Jews in Prussia sometimes complain of trifling disabilities, but I would advise them to come hither, if they wish to know what restriction means. Clubs and reading-societies, into which Jews had been admitted, have been ordered by govern-

ment to expel them. Such laws account for the small number of Jews or Protestants to be found in the country.

By the Sardinian law on the subject of marriage, a betrothal can be brought before a court of law, only when reposing on some public act, or on a document legally signed and sealed. The betrothed must have had the consent of their parents, or of the father or mother, if only one survive; or if both be dead, that of the nearest ascending relatives on the father's side. If every prescribed form have been observed, the party withdrawing from the contract must indemnify the other for every injury sustained. In case of a separation between a father and mother, the children remain under the care of the latter till their fourth year, unless the court see sufficient reason to direct the contrary. At the end of the fourth year, the court decides which of the two parents shall be charged with their farther education. Illegitimate children may be legitimized by a subsequent marriage, or by a royal ordinance, unless either of the parents was married at the time of the birth, and unless the parents were either within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, or under the obligation of a religious vow.

The affiliation of a child is not permitted, unless the accused be still living, have already assumed

the duties of a father, or have given a promise in writing that he would do so.

The civil registration is in the hands of the clergy, in virtue of an agreement with the pope. A man at his death may dispose of two-thirds of his property, if he have two children, or of the half, if he have more than two children. A Catholic renouncing his faith forfeits all right of inheritance. What would Catholics say, if it were made a part of the Prussian law, that a father might disinherit his daughter, if she became a Catholic or a public prostitute? Yet substitute the word Protestant for Catholic, and you will find the two grounds for disinheritance stated, as of equal force, in the code of Parma!

The crown-lands, according to the Sardinian code, are inalienable, and all agreements for such alienations, under whatever conditions, null and void. From this prohibition, however, are excepted cases of pressing necessity or obvious utility, for the defence or augmentation of the state, for instance, or for the acquirement of other possessions, provided the full amount of the value be paid into the royal treasury, the crown retaining, nevertheless, the right of rescinding the bargain.

Concerning the *majorat*, or law of entail, a new law was promulgated on the 14th of October, 1837, which endeavoured to supply the deficiencies of the

former one, and set aside entails. With respect to the latter, Pecchio says in his History of Political Economy, "The younger sons, those victims of the law of entail, had no other right in the family than the degrading one of sitting at the table of the first-born, and no other means of maintenance than the sword or the breviary; for all other occupations, be they ever so profitable, were closed against them by a false notion of honour.

"In order to remedy this injustice, the government committed a second, and bestowed the highest dignities, civil and military, on the younger sons of noble families. Merit without birth had, therefore, no chance of promotion; and the spur of emulation was wanting to the nobly born. The cities were filled with abbés leading scandalous lives, the convents with idlers; families were divided by civil war, and the country was sunk in superstition."

The above-mentioned new law provided that the permission to found majorats should be reserved to those who, on account of services rendered by the crown, might be esteemed worthy of such favour. For such a purpose, it is necessary to prove a clear income of at least 10,000 lire in land; the affair must be discussed in the council of state, and the permission confirmed by the king. One tenth of the amount of the income must be devoted to the purchase of stock in the public funds, and, should

the founder of the majorat have no other property, one excluded child has a claim for a sixth; two or more, for a fourth of the income of the majorat.

LETTER XLI.

The Army—Military Schools.

Turin, May 6th.

In my last letter I touched upon a few points of civil law; to-day, without pretending to anything like a complete statement, I will notice a few of the points of military law.

A very circumstantial ordinance of the 16th December, 1837, enacts, on the subject of the conscription, that it is to be raised in proportion to the population, the selection being made by lot from the classes between the ages of 18 and 24. The army is divided into the regular and provincial, (*ordinanze e provinciale.*) At the end of eight years' service, the regular soldier receives his discharge. The provincial remains one year under arms, and then receives leave of absence, but is under an obligation to join the army again at any time within seven years, if calledupon to do so. At the end of eight years, he passes over to the reserve, and at the end of sixteen years he is com-

pletely free. The provincial cavalry serve three years with the regular army, and then remain at home, but liable to be called out again for thirteen years. The provincial artillery serve three years, receive a furlough for six years, and are then attached to the reserve for four years more.

Clergymen, seamen, pupils in the military schools, and Jews are exempt, but the last are obliged to pay. Eldest sons of widows, eldest brothers of orphans, &c., are excused. Married men, widowers with children, only sons of farmers and mechanics, &c., are usually turned over to the provincial army. Substitutes are allowed, but must be approved of by the authorities. The provincial soldiers on furlough must be inspected and reviewed once a year. The provincial infantry is about four times as numerous as that of the regular army, but the provincial cavalry and artillery compose but a trifling force.

Promotion generally takes place according to seniority. Non-commissioned officers can rarely advance beyond the rank of lieutenant.

In the military school at Turin, 85 pupils, chiefly orphans or the sons of officers, are maintained at the king's expense. A selection takes place, after examination, from among the candidates for admission. In a second college, there are 100 free places for sons of officers, 100 pay half, and 50

two-thirds of the usual charge. In both institutions pupils are received on payment of the full amount. All royal pupils are obliged to serve sixteen years. The country is divided into 7 military districts:—Turin, Alessandria, Cuneo, Savoy, Nizza, Novara, Genoa; over each of these a governor is appointed. I will not presume to make any comments on these arrangements; still I cannot but consider it matter of congratulation that efforts are thus made to form a national army, and that the enlistment of foreigners for the defence of the country has been abandoned.

LETTER XLII.

Piedmont—Schools—Gymnasiums—Universities.

Turin, May 7th.

A very general complaint here is, that elementary schools are still wanting in many places, and that where they exist they are under the superintendence of ignorant and ill-paid teachers. The Italian schools, as they are called, where the instruction is carried a little farther, are mostly in the hands of the *fratelli ignorantili*, who, though they are called ignorant, must, I should think, possess the little knowledge required of them. The clergy, no doubt, are exerting themselves to obtain the exclusive direction of the instruction of youth, and to fashion it

entirely in conformity with their own views. These views they proclaim to be holy, christian, and anti-revolutionary; but many complain, that every advance of science is looked on with jealousy, every freedom of thought treated as heresy, the ignorance of the multitude considered an advantage to the government, and passive obedience laudeda the highest degree of virtue. A minister is said to have openly declared himself an enemy to all science and to all men of learning; and it appears that a society, which had raised a large sum by subscription for the establishment of infant schools, has dissolved itself, in consequence of an order to place them under the superintendence of the monks, and to entrust the tuition exclusively to nuns.

I am not one of those who would exclude the clergy altogether from exercising any influence over schools, as if they were the only class liable to professional prejudices and passions; but history proves that exclusive influence confided to the clergy tends to the worst of tyranny, because no other community or corporation has the same opportunity of instilling its own prejudices and passions as sacred truths.

A collection of laws for the regulation of schools was printed in 1834. According to these, the instruction given in the elementary schools is gratuitous. The lessons begin and end with prayer. The

gymnasiums (*collegi*) are divided into six classes: three junior, one of grammar, one of humanity, and one of rhetoric. The branches of instruction and class-books are prescribed. Besides the ordinary teachers, every gymnasium has a prefect, who is often changed, and whose duty it is to enforce discipline among teachers and scholars, and a spiritual director. Under the last named, the following exercises occur daily. Every morning; 1, a quarter of an hour of religious reading; 2, the hymn, *Veni creator*; 3, according to the season, the Ambrosian hymn, and other extracts from the *Ufficio della beata Vergine*; 4, mass; 5, hymn of the litanies of the holy virgin; 6, spiritual instruction; 7, the psalm, *Laudate Dominum*, and a prayer for the king. In the afternoon: 1, a quarter of an hour of religious reading; 2, hymn and prayer; 3, three quarters of an hour explanation of the catechism. The school lasts $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the forenoon, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the afternoon. Thursday is a whole holiday. Where the funds of the school are insufficient, a boy in the three junior classes pays 15 francs a year, and in the upper classes, 20 francs, besides 8 or 12 francs on being promoted from one class to another. The salaries of the teachers are paid partly by the government and partly by the towns, and amount to from 750 to 1200 lire per annum, with some trifling addition

in case of long service. The retiring pensions also depend on the period of service, but the highest pension never exceeds the lowest salary. Where the ability is the same, clergymen are always to be preferred. No teacher must cause anything to be printed either in or out of the kingdom without submitting his manuscript first to the ordinary censorship, and then to the censorship of the *riforma*. The *magistrato di riforma* is a kind of ministry of public instruction, and has a *consiglio di riforma* under it in every province. Among its other duties, occurs that of prescribing what books shall be used in instruction, although, in the episcopal seminaries, and some others under the guidance of ecclesiastical orders, such as the Jesuits, the Barnabites, &c., it has little influence.

The scholars of the gymnasiums are not allowed to read any books which have not been either given or furnished by the prefect. They are forbidden to swim, to frequent theatres, balls, coffee or gaming houses; to perform in private plays, and the like; and it is the business of the police to see these prohibitions attended to.

There is in Turin one head university, with four faculties; and there are secondary universities (*università seccondarie*) in Chamberi, Asti, Mondovi, Nizza, Novara, Saluzzo, and Vercelli, either for the study of medicine alone, or for medicine and jurispru-

dence together. The universities have no legal right to make proposals for the appointment to vacant places, and there is consequently no canvassing. This is by some regarded as an advantage, though it is stated on the other hand that hasty and partial nominations are more frequent on this system.

There are three academical degrees, those of bachelor, licentiate, and laureate; and the holidays are on the whole more frequent than with us.

The students are not only under strict scientific superintendence, but also under the close *surveillance* of the police. No student is allowed to choose his dwelling or leave it without permission of the prefect, who often appoints the place where he is to lodge and board.

Whoever wishes to receive students into his house must undertake the responsibility for their observance of the laws which regulate their going to mass and confession, fasting, and even their clothing and their beards. Neglect of these rules is punished by exclusion from the examinations, or from the university itself.

With respect to the great abundance of devotional exercises, I may be permitted to remark that, though the reference to piety and devotion, as to that which should mingle in all sciences and in every action of our lives, be undoubtedly praiseworthy, and for Catholics it is right to prefer Tho-

mas à Kempis to Ovid as a school-book, I cannot help doubting if the constant repetition of these prescribed forms be really advisable. Without considering that many must regard them as mere loss of time, it would be scarcely possible to avoid one of two errors—either that of an over-estimation of mere external observances, and a consequent disregard of true inward holiness, or an indifference and disgust easily excited in young minds, when the highest and holiest subjects become matters of daily and mechanical routine.

In the second place, that the school instruction should devolve wholly on Catholic clergymen may have one advantage in an economical point of view, since, being without families, they are better able to maintain themselves on a small income; but it can scarcely escape the objection of bestowing only a one-sided education, or avoid the danger of having many branches of instruction under the superintendence of those who are themselves little instructed; unless ecclesiastics should be obliged to devote themselves to studies foreign to their vocation. The existence of a lurking wish to extend and strengthen by this means the power and dominion of the Church is the more evident, as establishments for education are daily arising, which are entirely withdrawn from temporal influence. I repeat that such a system as this appears to me

quite as one-sided and disadvantageous as the opposite one.

In the third place, what is called the philosophical course is here, still less than in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, such as to afford any compensation for the meagreness of the education afforded at the gymnasium. How, for instance, can a single lesson or lecture a week in Greek grammar make amends for many years' academical study of that difficult language, or afford any preparation for the studies of the university, in themselves meagre enough? Besides, there is merely a choice offered to the quasi-student, whether he will learn Greek or history. Should he prefer history, he must renounce Greek altogether.

Fourthly, much might be said against the subordinate universities above-mentioned. They were established at a time when the unquiet dispositions of the Turin students had turned towards politics, and occasioned much trouble to the government, which endeavoured to weaken them by scattering them thus over the country. It may be doubted, nevertheless, whether this lasting resource against a merely temporary evil has proved really effectual.

It is at all events likely that the number of ignorant students has been thereby increased, and the instruction deteriorated from the diminution of the

number of learned professors. The German universities sometimes exhibit the dangers of too much liberty, those of this country the evils of too much restraint. The time must come in a young man's life when even paternal authority must cease—much more, then, the discipline of a school.

LETTER XLIII.

Piedmont—Improvements of all kinds—Population—Foundling-Hospitals.

Genoa, May 17th.

It belongs neither to my nature nor my office to play the flatterer, or to conceal any opinion I may entertain; but, should my communications produce a general impression that the Sardinian States show no signs of genuine and considerable progress, I should be leading you astray, and the fault would lie on me, *qui clarius loqui debuisset.* The details into which I am now about to enter will, I hope, lead to a more accurate estimate of their condition.

I have obtained from the most authentic sources some information of what has been done during the reign and under the actual superintendence of the present king; and I cannot deny that I have been

filled with joyful surprise. We will take the several departments of government separately.

1. Much as still remains to be done in the department of public instruction, it cannot be denied that schools, museums, collections, &c., have been increased in number.

2. In the department of finance, regulations have been made with respect to customs, coinage, stamps, system of accounts, and the public debt, of which more hereafter.

3. The department of war has the merit of having re-organised the army, and re-established the fortresses and the artillery. Attention has been paid to the navy, to the construction of new barracks and lighthouses; the harbours have been improved, and new laws have been passed for the regulation of the conscription.

4. The department of justice has distinguished itself by a great diminution in the number of capital punishments, and by the abolition of confiscation of property as a punishment; by a new organisation of the courts of law, and of the law of entailment. The new code has been substituted for an uncertain and unsuitable system of legal administration. Farther reforms are in progress.

5. The department of the Interior has passed laws for the regulation of communes, roads, weights and measures, sanitary police, vaccination, prisons,

forests, the game laws, &c. Roads and bridges in great number have been constructed, as also town-houses, slaughter-houses, public baths, theatres, hospitals, school-houses, poor-houses, and churches. Markets and public promenades have been improved and embellished, statues erected, canals made, and mines and quarries opened.

6. Under the direction of the ministry of the royal household, by order of the king, an armoury and a collection of coins have been formed, the gallery of pictures greatly increased, palaces embellished, order introduced into the public archives, and a society formed for the investigation of national history, that has manifested its activity by the valuable collection of the *monumenta patriæ*.

7. Lastly, for Sardinia a series of truly remarkable laws have been promulgated, by which the foundation is laid for an entirely new state of things, and for the regeneration of that long neglected island.

I will add a few brief remarks on various isolated points, reserving those of greater importance for a future communication.

1. The continental states of the Sardinian monarchy, in 1818, contained 3,439,000 inhabitants; at present about 4,000,000; and, but for certain calamities (particularly the cholera) the increase would have been much larger.

The proportion between males and females is as.....	1000 to 1001
Unmarried and married	10 „ 6
Married and widows and widowers	10 „ 3
Proprietors of land and the population at large	1 „ 5
Members of learned professions and the population.....	1 „ 500
Tradesmen and mechanics and the population	1 „ 400
Labourers and the population at large.....	1 „ 10

The country contains 72 towns, and 2632 villages, hamlets, &c. In Sardinia there are 93 convents for men and 13 for women; in the continental dominions, 242 of the former and 80 of the latter. Among these the mendicant orders are the most prevalent.

2. The prejudice against vaccination has given way, and the small-pox has not been heard of for several years.

3. For the sanitary police superior and inferior authorities have been appointed. Veterinary surgeons are educated at Fossano, at an institution founded for the purpose.

4. The new laws for the regulation of prisons have met with general approbation. The accused are kept strictly apart from the condemned, the young

from the old, men from women. Where many work together, silence is rigidly enforced. The king has granted two millions of lire, from the surplus of 1836 and 1837, for the construction of new prisons, and prizes of 5000 and 1000 lire have been offered for the best plans.

A new law was promulgated on the 29th of May, 1817, on the subject of roads and navigable waters. It assumes that all rivers are the property of the crown. The roads are divided into royal, provincial, and private, and are all, more or less, subject to the control of the public authorities.

Chambers of Commerce and of Agriculture have been established at Turin, Genoa, Chamberi, and Nice. They are composed of landowners, bankers, merchants, and manufacturers. From time to time public exhibitions take place of the produce of national industry.

The institutions for the poor, for the relief of the sick, &c. are very numerous in the Sardinian States, their yearly income (exclusively of the island of Sardinia) being calculated at ten millions of lire. The administration of these institutions has been much improved by new laws, and it is to be hoped that mendicity, permitted since 1831, will gradually be subdued.

On the subject of foundling hospitals I must repeat my old complaints. The province of Turin,

with a population of 380,000, sees yearly 500 children deserted by their parents, and is at present charged with the maintenance of 3500 such children.

In the Genoese districts, the hospitals contained 1202 foundlings in 1813, and in 1835, the number had increased to 2555. In 1835, the number of deserted children found alive was 275, those found dead were in number 163. The mortality of these children within the year was 120. Every eleventh child, on an average, was a foundling.

In the whole monarchy, 3480 children were deserted in 1835, of whom 1957 died. For a population of 4 millions, there were no fewer than 18,365 children maintained in the foundling hospitals, at an expense of 425,000 lire to the state. As long as the bigoted notion prevails that these revolting institutions promote morality and prevent infanticide, no remedy is to be hoped for, and the premium offered to vice will continue to foster depravity. Are not the deserted children that are found dead, are not the others also who die in such prodigious numbers, murdered? Are they not murdered by mothers, fathers, and legislators?

LETTER XLIV.

Piedmont — Finances — Taxes — Customs — Government Monopolies—Taxes on Consumption—Debt of the State.

Genoa, May 19th.

THE financial system of the kingdom of Sardinia is one of the best regulated in Europe, and occasional defects are more than counterbalanced by accompanying advantages. A yearly budget is drawn up, with estimates of revenue and expenditure. There has been every year a surplus of the former, and no recourse has been had to anticipations, *bons du trésor*, *soumissions*, and other artificial resources. The department of finance is divided into three principal divisions: the first, for the direct taxes, office fees or *insinuazioni*, and the lotto ; the second, for customs, consumption taxes, and the royal monopolies of salt, tobacco, gunpowder, and lead; the third, for the administration of the crown property and the public debt.

The following is the estimate for the current year in round numbers:—

REVENUE.

	lire.
1. Customs, taxes on consumption, tobacco, salt, &c.	42,500,000
2. Finances (including royal domains, direct taxes, &c.)	27,200,000

		lire.
3. Foreign (*estero*) chiefly the post-office		2,300,000
4. Interior (including mines)		300,000
5. Coinage, &c.		200,000
7. Administration of the treasury (*erario*)		900,000
Herein are included the gunpowder monopoly	240,000	
Chancery fees (*diritti di segretaria*)	40,000	
Interest on capital advanced	55,000	
Sundry receipts, arising from sales of old materials, and other sources	130,000	
Interest on public securities	75,000	
7. From the naval department (*marina*)		200,000
Total		73,600,000

EXPENDITURE.	lire.
Royal household and officers of state	4,000,000
Administration of justice	4,300,000
Foreign affairs	3,000,000
Interior	7,400,000
War office	26,100,000

	lire.
Artillery	2,900,000
Navy	3,100,000
Department of Finance	6,100,000
Customs	8,500,000
The Queen Dowager	262,000
The Prince of Carignan	150,000
Public Debt	8,662,000
Total	74,474,000
The Revenue being estimated at	73,600,000
There would appear to be a deficit of	874,000

but, as I have said, there has always been a surplus, the revenue having always produced from 4 to 8 millions more than had been estimated. In 1837, the surplus amounted to 2,300,000 lire.

The direct taxes are levied according to the laws of the 14th of December, 1818, and of the 1st of April, 1826. Under the French administration there were four of these taxes: land-tax, door and window-tax, trade licenses, and personal and furniture tax. The second and third were abolished by the present government, and the first reduced, in 1819, by 1-13th, and in 1838 by 1-10th. From the land-tax the only exemptions are in favour of the royal palaces, domains, and manufactories, the residences and gardens of the clergy, churches, and churchyards.

There is no general *cadastre*, or equal registration of lands. Many communes are entirely without one, and a few old documents and the recollections of living persons must supply the want. This of course leads to arbitrary acts, double imposition, omissions, and disorders of every kind. Some communes were surveyed and registered during the French domination, while the districts ceded by Austria continue to make use of the Milanese cadastre. In Savoy a registration was effected in 1730, but since then has undergone many alterations, particularly during the French time, when the land-tax was extended to the nobles and ecclesiastics. In the Genoese, there was no land-book till 1798, and it is on the lists then drawn up, with all their inaccuracies, that the land-tax is still levied. The want of a general registration is felt, but, as the expense is estimated at 10 millions of lire, and only 2½ millions are at present available to this purpose, the work continues to be delayed.

Archbishops, bishops, parochial clergy, clerical orders, and soldiers of the regular army, are exempt from the personal and furniture tax. People become liable to these taxes on completing the 20th year. The poor, under which head labourers and domestic servants are included, are not called on to pay. The personal tax is not to exceed

3 lire in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants
2½ „ „ „ 5,000 „

2 lire in towns of more than 2,000 inhabitants and
1½ „ „ less than 2,000 „

The furniture-tax is determined according to the rent. The personal and furniture tax, in 1839, produced 720,000 lire.

The customs are raised according to the tariffs of 1830 and 1835. The revenue derived from them has been progressively increasing, though the high duty on many articles encourages smuggling, so that a reduction would be likely to lead to the double advantage of remedying this evil and increasing the revenue. The following are a few of the articles with the duties charged by the two tariffs on importation:—

	1830	1835.	
	lire	lire.	cent.
Brandy, per hectolitre	60 to 150	120	
Wine ...	24 to 60		
Cacao, per cwt.	50		
Coffee	60	70	
Pepper	38	45	
Tea, per kilogramme	2½		
Sugar, per cwt.	45 to 80	18 to 48	
Butter	1		
Cheese	16		
Oysters .	10		
		cent.	Exportation.
Horses, each	7	20	15
Asses		50	3

	1830.	1835.	
	lire. lire. cent.	lire.	Export. lire.cent.
Oxen	10	5	2
Calves	1 50		25
Sheep	1		25
Pigs	2	3	1
Linen per kilogramme	2 to 5		
Cotton goods	4 to 20		
Wool, per cwt.*	1 to 6		
Wheat per cwt.	9		
Other kinds of corn	6		
Books (bound, *legati bianchi*,) per cwt....	50 to 100		
Music	50 to 85		

Not only this extravagantly high duty on foreign books, but also the severe censorship, and the loss of time which it occasions, throw great impediments in the way of literary intercourse.

Many of the productions of Sardinia (oil, wine, corn, wool, hides, fish, &c.) were formerly liable to only one-fourth of the usual duty. This favour has since 1835 been extended to oranges and fruit, but the duty on these and other articles increased to one-half the customary charge, a measure that has given rise to bitter complaints among the Sardinians.

* Since 1835 the exportation has been allowed on payment of 10 to 15 lire per cwt. Silk is allowed to be exported, subject to a duty of 3 lire.

When the important improvements are completed in Sardinia, an alteration of the customs laws will be unavoidable. Indeed, the whole system is gradually approaching to a greater simplification, the effect of which will be to permit a much more economical administration, and a considerable reduction in the little army of 3800 public officers now maintained.

The taxes on consumption are moderate; they are partly levied by the state, and partly by the communes to cover local expenditure. The former (called *gabelle accensate*) extend to meat, wine, spirits, vinegar, beer, and leather, when sold retail. This arrangement, however, is confined to 22 districts, and does not extend to Savoy, Genoa, Nice, Aosta, Ossola, &c. About 1,200,000 of the population are liable to these taxes, and about 2,800,000 exempt. They bring in yearly 4½ millions of lire, and are farmed out, as in the Milanese; in the Sardinian states, however, no distinction is made between walled and open towns.

Turin is the only city that does not levy its own consumption tax, but receives a fixed sum in its stead. A law, of the 27th of December, 1838, prescribes the articles on which the cities may impose this tax. They are chiefly wine, liquors, meat, flour, wood, hay, straw, and a few building materials. In the larger cities these taxes are mostly

farmed and levied at the gates; in the smaller ones each retail dealer pays a fixed sum. It is only in cases of extreme urgency, and when all other means appear to be insufficient, that bread, flour, or meat, can be taxed.

The monopolies of salt and tobacco are exercised and enforced in the usual manner. The produce of both is on the increase; the former produces yearly 13,500,000, the latter 7,650,000 lire. Most of the salt comes from Sardinia and the south of France, and is sold, except in a few districts, at four sous a pound.

The public debt may be divided under three heads.

1. The debt of 100 millions of lire, fixed in 1819 at five per cent. Of these, 60 millions are redeemable, and the original sinking fund amounted to one per cent. The extinction is effected, half by re-purchase, and the other half by lot. The remaining 40 millions are considered an irredeemable (*perpetuo*) debt.

2. In the year 1831, at a time of imminent danger, a voluntary loan of 25 millions was raised in a short time at five per cent.

3. The same considerations, in 1834, procured a loan of 27 millions, at four per cent., together with some prizes. The whole amount remains in the public treasury, to meet extraordinary demands, more particularly for the defence of the country.

The public securities of Sardinia enjoy great confidence, but appear so rarely in the money market, that the attendant evils of stockjobbing speculations are scarcely known. The punctual payment of the interest, and the progressive reduction of the debt, are generally praised. It may be doubted, however, whether to buy up the public debt at 114 and 118 per cent. be good economy, and whether it would not be better to adopt a more direct manner of payment. Secondly, whether the interest might not be reduced to 4 per cent., offering the fundholders the choice of receiving back their capital. Thirdly, whether some more expedient means might not be found for providing against extraordinary dangers, than to keep so large a sum of money lying idle in the treasury that the expense of taking care of it, including the loss of interest, amounts to 1,620,000 lire.

LETTER XLV.

Genoa—Agricultural Produce—Olives—Oranges—Lemons—Woods—Population—Exports.

Genoa, May 21st.

The Genoese territory is described by Foderi and Bertolotti, as a land rising everywhere from the seaside into hills and mountains, with little

agriculture, more gardens and orchards, the olive the prevalent object of cultivation, southern fruits in the most favourable places, the chestnut on the higher grounds, with pasturage and herds among the maritime Alps. Everywhere great industry, but nowhere much opulence among the people, the proverb holding good—"He who possesses only olive trees will always remain poor." Even a trifling frost injures the delicate plant, and still greater destruction is occasioned by some insects. Seedlings bear no regular crop of fruit till they are 50 years old, but if propagated by cuttings the trees bear at the end of 25 years. The more strongly the ground is manured, the more abundant in general is the harvest. In good years 150 to 200 olive trees, on a superficies of 10,000 square yards, will produce from 30 to 50 bariles of oil, and sometimes one large olive tree will yield as much as 3 bariles.* The trees blossom in May, and the harvest begins in December. The price of the barila varies from 30 to 80 francs.

Orange and lemon trees yield a full harvest only after 20 years. A hundred trees will give 30,000 fruit, at 16 francs the thousand. A single tree has sometimes been known to bear 4000. They grow best on a light soil, well watered, and well manured. The blossoms falling constitute in themselves a

* The *barila* of oil is equal to 17 English gallons.

manure; when sold, 25 pounds of them are worth about a franc.

The pastoral part of the population are more opulent than the olive-growers, though the pasturage and cattle are both inferior to those of Switzerland. As early as the year 1753, a very necessary law was promulgated, to prohibit the wanton destruction of the mountain forests, but in 1793 the greatest mischief was done by the total disregard of that law. The consequence was, the fertile soil disappeared, the storms became more violent, the mountain torrents more destructive, the roads were destroyed, and the climate was in many respects deteriorated. The system now enjoined of replanting the mountains will, it is to be hoped, be happily persevered in.

From Cevasco's excellent work on the statistics of Genoa, (not yet complete,) I have borrowed a part of the following facts, and have added to them others, which have reached me from a quarter to be relied on.

In eight years, from 1828 to 1835, the births in Genoa amounted to 24,741, of whom 12,513 were boys, and 12,228 girls.

The deaths were 17,758; of these, 8898 were males, and 8860 females. These numbers, however, do not include the deaths in the convents and

hospitals. In 1813, the period of Napoleon's commercial restrictions, the city contained 74,000 inhabitants; in 1827, the number had already increased to 95,000. Since then, partly owing to the cholera, the population has not increased. Including soldiers, sailors, foreigners, and strangers from the country, however, the city is supposed to contain 113,000 souls.

The garrison of Genoa consists of about 6000 men, and the naval crews are about 3000 strong. The navy consists of three old ships of the line (*rasés* of 60 guns), 3 frigates, 2 sloops, 2 brigs, 1 cutter, and some smaller vessels. About 8000 foreigners visit the city in the course of the year. About 200,000 hectolitres (4,400,000 imperial gallons) of wine and vinegar are consumed in the year; these, paying an excise of 2 lire 60 centimes per hectolitre, yield a revenue of 520,000 lire. The consumption of brandy and beer is comparatively trifling.

There are slaughtered yearly about 2300 oxen, 7500 cows, 7900 calves, 1000 pigs, 15,000 sheep, and 28,000 lambs. The corn consumed is chiefly wheat, of which the yearly average is 350,000 sacks. Next in importance are Indian corn and rice; of the former about 60,000 sacks, and of the latter about 32,000 are annually consumed. The tax on consumption levied by the state in Genoa

has been estimated to produce 2,150,000 lire, and the city tax about 1,374,000.

From an excellent table, containing a classification of the inhabitants, I have borrowed the following. Genoa contains—

298 fathers of families living on their private income.
509 secular clergy.
555 monks.
456 nuns.
56 ecclesiastical seminaries.
41 registered clergymen.
1490 children attending the public elementary schools.
710 children attending the superior schools.
581 persons belonging to the university.
1878 pupils in private schools.
1284 public officers of every kind.
463 lawyers.
276 physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and midwives.
1019 merchants and manufacturers.
21525 mechanics of both sexes.
2145 porters.
6110 female domestics.
2019 male ditto.
242 tavernkeepers and the like.
2698 beggars and vagabonds.
&c., &c., &c.

There are only three individuals in Genoa who pay more than 1000 lire land tax.

18	individuals	pay	from 500	to 1000
44	... ...		250 „	500
142	... ...		100 "	250
3863	... ...		under 100.	

The following are some of the principal exports, and the amount exported.

White lead.....	454,000 lire.
Coral	2,952,000
Iron bedsteads and similar articles	240,000
Confectionary	200,000
Goldsmiths' work	250,000
Paper and hangings	1,500,000
Soap	39,000
Silk and silk goods	2,825,000
Macaroni and vermicelli ...	1,213,000
Oil	1,154,000
Rice from Piedmont	804,000
Artificial flowers	39,000
Gloves	59,000
Cream of tartar	98,000
Chestnuts	24,000, &c.

The total value of the exports is estimated at 17,000,000 lire.

LETTER XLVI.

Genoa—Commerce—Shipping—Imports.

Genoa, May 22nd.

From what I have already said, it may be gathered that Genoa is not a manufacturing town, in the comprehensive sense of the word. To force a manufacturing interest into existence, many would fain return to the old system of prohibiting the exportation of all raw produce, and throwing increased impediments in the way of the introduction of foreign goods. But commerce, on which the welfare of Genoa depends, would suffer more by such a change than manufactures would gain. The government, on the contrary, has acted wisely by allowing the export of silk and wool, and is approaching nearer and nearer to a simplification of the high and intricate system of customs.

Seeing how Genoa is situated, between Trieste, Venice, Leghorn, Nice, and Marseilles, it follows that the range of its trade cannot be extended beyond a certain limit. On this subject I have heard two different complaints: in the first place, that Nice was too much favoured by ancient privileges, and by its great local facilities for smuggling; secondly, that the transit trade was still too heavily taxed. That the government is unwilling

to disturb ancient privileges secured to Nice by treaty seems to me deserving of praise, and the only question is, whether similar advantages might not be extended to Genoa. That the government is desirous of facilitating the transit trade appears to me to be evident, from the late conclusion of a commercial treaty with North America. The great commercial prospect, however, in my opinion, for Genoa, must be looked for in the improvements about to take place in Sardinia, which cannot but lead to an abolition or at least a new arrangement of the customs laws, by which the two countries are still kept asunder.

At all events, no trace of decay is to be seen at Genoa, as at Venice, and even if, in a commercial point of view, matters are stationary here, it is impossible to remain insensible to the great improvements that have taken place in the city itself, as well as in the surrounding country and the harbour. Although the annihilation of the ancient form of government, like every other death, be a cause for mourning, still it must be borne in mind that under existing circumstances an hereditary aristocracy was as little suited to this city as to Venice.

The activity and enterprise of the Genoese is not to be doubted. They trade to the most remote parts of the world. The following is a table of the

ships arriving at Genoa from different countries in the course of 1835.

From	Alexandria, Sardinian vessels	2
„	North America.....	7
„	Havanna, 11 Sardinian, 4 Spanish	15
„	The Levant, 73 Sardinian, 1 Austrian,	74
„	Brazil, 33 Sardin., 2 English, 1 French,	36
„	Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, 29 Sardinian, 1 English	30
„	Bremen, 2 Bremen, 1 Hanoverian, 1 Dutch	4
„	Columbia, Sardinian.....	2
„	St. Domingo, French	1
„	France, 5 Neapolitan, 1 Dutch, 3 Spanish, 79 Sardinian, 54 French, 1 Tuscan, 2 Austrian	145
„	the Canaries, Sardinian	1
„	Denmark, Danish.....	1
„	Gibraltar, 11 Sardinian, 4 English.....	15
„	the Adriatic, 22 Sardinian, 5 Austrian,	27
„	Greece, Sardinian.....	8
„	England, 5 Sardinian, 81 English, 1 Neapolitan, 1 American.....	88
„	the Ionian Islands and Malta, 8 Sardinian, 2 English	10
„	Constantinople and the Black Sea, Sardinian	76

From	Mexico, Sardinian	2
„	Holland, 8 Dutch, 1 Belgian, 4 Sardinian, 1 Russian	14
„	Portugal, 19 Sardinian, 1 English, 1 Dutch, 1 Prussian, 2 Neapolitan, 1 Tuscan	25
„	Porto Rico and St. Thomas, Sardinian,	10
„	San Romano, 6 Sardinian, 1 English, 1 French	8
„	Naples and Sicily, 243 Sardinian, 30 Neapolitan, 1 Austrian	274
„	Sardinia, Sardinian	109
„	Sweden and Norway, 5 Swedish, 1 Russian, 1 Dutch	7
„	Sumatra, American	1
„	Spain, 48 Sardinian, 17 Spanish, 2 Tuscan, 2 Neapolitan	69
„	Newfoundland, 1 English, 1 French ...	2
„	Tuscany, 32 Sardinian, 1 Spanish, 1 Tuscan, 1 Austrian, 1 Brazilian ...	36
„	the Pacific, Sardinian	4
„	Para and Maragnon, 1 Sardinian, 1 Austrian, 1 Spanish	3

The imports were in		1834	1835	1836
Coffee	pounds	7,344,000	3,938,000	8,220,000
Cacoa	bags	265,000	146,000	576,000
Hides	pieces	200,000	167,000	171,000

		1834	1835	1836
Wax	pounds	123,000	165,000	329,000
Pepper	„	4,400,000	344,000	2,481,000
Tea	„	17,000	15,000	10,000
Saffron	„	15,000	18,000	15,000
Corn	cwt.	438,000	572,000	1,006,000

Fish and colonial goods of every kind are also largely imported; the most important article is sugar, the annual importation of which is estimated at 200,000 quintals.

LETTER XLVII.

Genoa—Municipal Government—Income and Expenditure of the City.

Leghorn, May 24th.

THE city of Genoa is governed in virtue of the laws of December 1814, and July 1815. The Great Town Council is formed of 40 decurions, 20 of whom are nobles, and 20 citizens and merchants. They were in the first instance named by the king, but subsequent vacancies are filled up by the council itself. They must meet at least three times every year, on the 16th of April, August, and December, and on extraordinary occasions, on the suggestion of the Little Council, and with the sanction of the king's representative, an office usually given to the presiding judge in the supreme

court of Genoa. He has no vote in the council, but is ordered to watch vigilantly over the interests of the government and the inhabitants. The Great Council elects its own members and the magistrates of the city, subject to the approval of the king, nominates the Little Council, proposes the syndics, confirms the appointments of inferior officers by the Little Council, examines the estimates and expenditure for the year, and deliberates on all important matters relating to the city. At each meeting, at least three-fifths of the members must be present in official costume.

The Little Council, on which the attention to business really devolves, is composed of an equal number from each class (nobles and citizens) and one half of the members go out every year. This body administers the revenues of the city, superintends the police and the charitable institutions. It is composed of the syndics, the councillors of accounts, several other of the city authorities, and 10 ordinary members. No resolution can be adopted unless 21 members and the king's commissioner be present. The Little Council meets at least once a month, and more frequently if the affairs of the city require it.

There are two syndics, whose term of office lasts for three years. Each member of council proposes three candidates, whose names he writes secretly on

slips of paper, and the king selects two from the six names that have obtained the greatest number of votes, always appointing one noble and one citizen. Six councillors of accounts, whose term of office is two years, superintend the financial affairs of the city. Six superintendents (*provveditori*) fix the prices of provisions, wood, and coals; watch the conduct of the retailers; examine weights and measures, &c. Six ædiles have charge of the harbour, dikes, warehouses, waterworks, marine affairs, roads, &c. All these officers are appointed by the Great Council from among its own members, and are *ex officio* members of the Little Council.

Having given you the estimates of Trieste, Venice, Milan, and Turin, I will add that of Genoa for the year 1837, and shall take some future opportunity of comparing them with each other.

INCOME.	lire.
1. Rent of land	23,653
2. Quit-rents	7,083
3. Interest on public securities	4,623
4. Additional centimes to the land-tax	6,400
5. City taxes (almost all on articles of general consumption)	1,155,063
6. Stall money for the Piazza de' Ponti	21,000
7. Ditto for the fish-market	4,500
8. Measuring wood	6,500
9. Ditto, coals	4,500

	lire.
10. Measuring corn	5,000
11. Ditto wine	2,500
12. Rent of snow	30,060
13. Farming of the *Pellere*	935
14. Sundry receipts	654
15. Warehouse-money at the harbour	8,002
16. Receipts from the theatre.....	25,525
Total, in round numbers	1,306,000

EXPENDITURE.

1. Administration of the city	48,955
2. Collecting city revenue	96,548
3. Other official expenditure (*carichi d'Azienda*)	6,912
4. Keeping streets in repair	40,242
5. Ditto waterworks	35,137
6. Cleansing and watching the city...	26,562
7. Lighting	46,680
8. Preservation of public walks	6,056
9. Expenditure for the theatre	78,020
10. Military expenses	17,971
11. Police	26,299
12. Archives	4,412
13. Judicial expenses.....	7,425
14. Ditto (of a different class)	952
15. Interest on the city debt, and sinking fund	303,444

	lire.
16. Religious expenses, processions, &c.	9600
17. Charitable institutions	477,352
18. Public instruction	63,134
19. Casual expenses	102,92
Total in round numbers	1,316,000

Among the taxes on consumption we find fish paying from five to fifty centimes per metric pound, according to the class in which each sort is included. There are four classes. The first comprises 21, the second 36, the third 32, and the fourth 30 different kinds of fish. Though it is true that many of these are not caught in the immediate neighbourhood of Genoa, the old proverb—*mare senza pesce*—is evidently a calumny.

The taxes on consumption constitute the chief branch of revenue for the town. Here for the first time, in our progress towards the south, we hear of a revenue derived from the sale of snow. The theatre is under the superintendence of the magistracy (decurions) who are directed to take care that the female dancers be dressed in a decorous manner, and it is this instruction which suggested the propriety of the elongation and amplification of pantaloons, that lately led to so much public excitement. The subsidy to the theatre is larger than that to the public schools, but the largest, notwith-

standing many rich endowments, is that to the charitable institutions. In this department there is much room for reform. Mendicity, I was told by one, had been suppressed, but had gained the upper hand again since the return of the Jesuits. What truth there may be in this I know not, but it is certain that many of the clergy believe that to suppress street-begging has the effect of weakening the spirit of christian charity—a most superficial idea, for, on the contrary, the importunities of the beggar tend to harden the heart, and indispose it to benevolence. "Foreigners," said an Italian to me, "are mistaken when they look on Italy as a poor country, because there they are so persecuted by beggars. England and Belgium are full of paupers, but not Italy." Were this true, the governments would be even more to blame than they are, for the prevalence of street-begging.

The public debt of Genoa appears to be large, but has been contracted chiefly in recent times, for the purpose of completing some extensive embellishments of the city in a short time. Some people are of opinion that Genoa ought always to take care to be a little in debt, the government being apt to appropriate to its own use any surplus that may happen to remain.

LETTER XLVIII.

University of Genoa.

Pisa, May 25th.

I HAVE already spoken of several universities of Italy, so shall confine myself to a few particulars respecting that of Genoa, borrowed from the Statistical Annals (Vol. xxxix. p. 179.)

To enter the university of Genoa, a student must produce seven certificates: 1, the certificate of baptism; 2, a certificate of vaccination; 3, a certificate that the candidate has been to confession once a month, and has been regular in his attend ance at church; 4, that he has frequently received the communion, and has conducted himself well during the preceding year; 5, certificates to show that he has gone regularly through his courses of rhetoric and philosophy; and 7, the consular certificate, as it is called, signed by the local magistrates, containing name, rank, place of birth, family, number of brothers and sisters, ability of the parents to defray college expenses, &c. If all these certificates are found to be in proper order, the candidate is admitted to an examination, in the course of which he is questioned on logic, metaphysics, natural philosophy, mathematics, and Latin and Italian eloquence.

When admitted as a student he is liable to punishment, if he fail to observe the following rules:— 1, he must lodge and take his meals with such families as may be approved of by the prefect, always an ecclesiastic, whose duty it is to visit the students and examine their books; 2, he must go to no theatre, coffee-house, &c., but to mass, confession, &c.; 3, he must every two months obtain a certificate of diligence, good conduct, and regular attendance at lectures and church. It is scarcely necessary to add, that there is much in these regulations of which I cannot approve.

In 1822—1823, the students at Genoa were in number 350. In 1837, there were among them 6 students of theology, 159 of law, 101 of medicine, 35 of surgery, 36 of pharmacy, 24 of mathematics, 122 of philosophy and belles lettres.

The following is the list of lectures for 1838 and 1839:—

I. Theology. Professor Bolasco will discourse on the doctrine of confession, indulgences, and extreme unction. Professor Massa on sin and its chief divisions. Professor Oliva will teach Hebrew, and explain the Acts of the Apostles, and the subsequent writings of the New Testament. Magnasco will explain the principal dogmas.

II. Jurisprudence. Bonta, the theory of the law courts, *judiciorum materiam*. Leveroni, the

law of wills. Parodi, maritime law. Daneri, a part of ecclesiastical law. Mongiardini, some portions of Roman law, compared with the civil law of Sardinia. Casanova, the elements of Roman private law.

III. MEDICINE. Garibaldi, a part of the *materia medica*, and judicial medicine. Botto, clinic. Mazzini, parts of anatomy and physiology. Tarella, nervous diseases. Molfino, surgery and midwifery. Gherardi, surgical operations, &c. Pedemonte, the first part of pathology. Bo, the doctrine of diseases. Sassi, mineralogy and a part of the materia medica.

IV. Faculty of the SCIENCES and LITERATURE. Badano, statics and dynamics. Botto, differential and integral calculus. Garassino, algebra and trigonometry. Garibaldi, natural philosophy. Lanfranco, ethics. Spotorno, rhetoric and history of Roman literature. Grillo, hydraulics. Valentini, logic and metaphysics. Foppiani, architectural drawing. Rebuffo, style, with Italian examples. Laberio, chemistry. Assalini, arithmetic and geometry.

Such is a complete list of the lectures delivered at an institution which in Italy passes under the name of a university! Would it not be better to combine the resources of Turin, Genoa, and the wretched auxiliary universities, by which means

one really good national university might be formed that would serve as a model to the rest of Italy?

LETTER XLIX.

Sardinia—Former Condition of the Island—Recent Changes and Improvements.

Florence, May 28th.

SINCE the year 1421, the island of Sardinia, after the manner of Catalonia, has had three states, in which many privileges are vested, particularly that of voting taxes. The same sum, however, was generally paid, without farther consultation or resolution, and from 1696 to 1793, the states were not once called together, and in 1799, a moment of urgent need, they were summoned only for the purpose of raising the customary tax of 60,000 scudi to 120,000. In point of fact, all real power was in the hands of the Spanish governors, as in all the remote possessions of Spain. Indeed, had the states possessed more influence, they would have done little for the redress of the evils that existed; for, as they comprised no principle of popular representation, and as, owing to the oligarchical character of their composition, they were not likely to sympathise with the people at large, the states

collectively would, no doubt, have exercised a power quite as tyrannical as that of the individual barons. The feudal system manifested none of its redeeming qualities, nowhere did it even show itself in its poetical point of view. The baron was on every occasion both judge and suitor, deciding without appeal in his own quarrel, while the distant sovereign either could not or would not afford relief. Thus the burdens on the population rose gradually to 60 or 70 per cent. of the produce, without including the oppressive tithe on the gross receipts. A Marchese di Moras raised the tax on corn one-sixteenth, because it was probable the mice would eat so much in his granary! The father of one of the present Piedmontese ministers was once walking in Sardinia with a feudal baron. The latter, feeling weary, called a peasant, and, having ordered him to kneel down on all-fours, sat upon him to rest himself. The Piedmontese having observed how revolting such a state of things appeared to him, the Sardinian feudal lord replied: *No es nada! Dexelos azer: es buono que assi se mantengan en el respecto que deven a los señores, estos picaros!* "That is nothing! Let them be; it is well to keep the rascals in mind of the respect due to their lords!"

Is it to be wondered at that the population contracted more and more of a savage character, and

had recourse on every occasion to private revenge, where justice was not to be had, where the very idea of it seemed extinct? The wretchedness of Sardinia arose neither from natural nor from transitory causes, but chiefly from the nature of its government, or rather from the absence of all real government. Many attempts at reform were made after the island passed under the Piedmontese, but their complete failure only proved the uselessness of superficial remedies, while the growing disaffection and danger made it evident that a bold hand must be applied to the radical extirpation of such accumulated abuses.

This great and arduous political and financial struggle has been organised, prepared, and triumphantly carried through, with a skill, prudence, and firmness, that have surprised me, at the same time that they have awakened in me the liveliest interest. The king, his Sardinian counsellors, and their leader, Count Villa Marina, are deserving of the most unqualified praise, and their memory will be revered, when the natural objections of the moment have been long forgotten.

The first measure connected with this subject came into force on the 19th of December, 1833. Its object was to establish a new board at Cagliari, for the purpose of drawing up a complete list of the feudal tenures, with their lords and vassals, and

of ascertaining the amount of all fixed and fluctuating revenues, adopting generally an average of 10 or 15 years. The statements handed in were to be strictly investigated, and to be referred to the communes, who were to report on their accuracy. By this measure, some insight was obtained into the real state of things, and an idea of the magnitude of the existing evils and abuses. It was ascertained that the feudal jurisdiction conferred upon the lord not merely the right of appointing a judge, whose office it was to pronounce according to a fixed code of laws, and whose decisions were in some measure subject to the control of a higher tribunal; nay, it was found that the lord decided entirely according to his own caprice, without reference to any general law, or rather his own temporary convenience was the supreme law, most of the questions submitted to his decision arising out of matters in which his personal interest was concerned. In point of fact, Sardinia was in a half savage state, and the only law recognised was the law of the stronger.

On the 1st of June, 1836, all feudal jurisdiction was abolished, and the courts of law were all placed under the direct control of the state. Those holding local offices were not dismissed, but a commission was appointed, to inquire in what cases compensation was called for, in consequence of losses sustained by individuals.

The carrying into execution of such ordinances could not but lead to many doubts and disputes; for the settlement of these, a tribunal was appointed on the 10th of June, 1837, from whose decision the only appeal lay to the king in person. On this occasion, the communes were again consulted, in order to ascertain what they were really bound to pay to their lords, and every imposition and augmentation of a wholly arbitrary nature was done away with.

On the 21st of May, 1838, an ordinance was issued, declaring that all feudal rights were to be abolished, all feudal services to be converted into a money payment, and the land to remain a free property, or to be applied to the uses of the crown.

On the 1st of July of the same year, commissioners were appointed to carry these orders into execution, their instructions being, in the first instance, to endeavour to bring about an amicable arrangement between the communes and their feudal lords. The king's deputy was directed to take care that the communes were not imposed on in the course of these negociations.

A law dated the 15th of September, 1838, pronounces in a clear manner that the object of these new institutions is, "to establish a free and unlimited system of property, and to relieve the land from all burdens, bonds, and obligations, that may appear to be of an intolerable character. Those

whose interests may be affected by the change, will receive compensation in money or land, or by an inscription in the public debt."

The peasantry were cruelly oppressed by their entire dependence on their feudal lords, but, on the other hand, were neither prepared nor fitted for an immediate emancipation from their servitude. The king, therefore, substituted himself in the place of the barons; he took all feudal rents into his own hands; their value was calculated at the rate of twenty years' purchase, and public securities to that amount, bearing five per cent. interest, were made over to the barons, in exchange for the privileges of which they were deprived.

The most recent and important law connected with this question is that of the 26th of February, 1839, the object of which is to define the nature of property, and secure a more extensive cultivation of the land. The professed object is: 1, to leave every individual in possession of what he has hitherto enjoyed and cultivated; 2, to improve this cultivation, by a greater security of property and by the redemption of existing obligations; 3, by applying to the use of the crown, (to which in fact it always belonged,) all uncultivated or waste land, to which a title cannot be shown, to bring the whole island into a more general state of cultivation. The following are among the principal enactments of this law:—

1. The land must be the property of individuals, of the commune, or of the crown. Lands subject to feudal services, or to the right of pasturage, constitute only an imperfect property.

2. Those lands to which neither an individual nor a commune can show either a perfect or an imperfect right of property, are to be considered the lands of the crown.

3. Land that has been cultivated or applied to use, whether enclosed or not, shall be considered private property, even though no sufficient title can be made out. Undisturbed possession is understood to confer a right of property, even in the absence of any other title. The same principle applies to the alternate right of pasturage, and to lands that have been cultivated only at intervals.

4. A suitable extent of land shall be reserved for the endowment of schools.

5. All lands to which neither a complete nor an incomplete right of property can be shown, will be disposed of on reasonable terms, according to the pleasure of the crown.

6. Every kind of vassalage may be redeemed. Communal property is not for the present to be divided. Every man has the right by the redemption of existing obligations to convert his land into a complete property, and then to inclose it.

7. The redemption of the rents recently trans-

ferred to the crown cannot for the present take place.

8. All land which the feudal barons have hitherto been in any way in the habit of cultivating, is in future to be considered a free allodium, without being liable to any further indemnity to the crown.

On this occasion, as is always the case where great changes are effected, many painful feelings have no doubt been excited, many customs and usages disturbed, many real or imaginary claims encroached on; but the evils to which a remedy has been applied were of frightful magnitude, and their removal loudly called for. The new system of legislation, as has been the case in other countries, will provoke individual complaints against its authors; impediments will be thrown in the way, and justice and religion will be invoked, to cast a shade over what has been done, and what has been attempted. Prejudice and injustice will be declared sacred, and the new fountain of life will be decried as a poisonous source. It is not the less true, however, that no really existing rights have been violated; changes have been introduced only where the previous state of things had become intolerable. The way has been prepared for a salutary reconstruction of the whole state of society throughout the island, and many improvements stand in immediate connexion therewith, such as those relating to roads, to the

manner of collecting the revenue, to the establishment of schools, &c. King Albert and his minister Villa Marina will be decried as revolutionists, (as Frederick William III., Stein, and Hardenberg were on account of similar measures,) and the olden time will be lauded, when the whole population of Sardinia was trodden under foot by a few insolent individuals, till, treated like beasts, men abandoned themselves to the fury of beasts, and returned evil for evil. If, however, the measures already adopted be firmly persevered in, the immediate successors of the few who now complain live to witness the great advantages to be derived from the regeneration of their country, and will join in that feeling of gratitude already expressed by the people at large, and confirmed by all unprejudiced men, to whom the merits of the case are known.

LETTER L.

North Italy—Condition of the Farming Population—Halflings—Mezzadria—Cattle-sharing Contracts—Laws of Parma relative to these subjects.

Florence, June 1.

I OUGHT long ago to have fulfilled my promise to communicate to you something relative to the posi-

tion of the farmers and peasantry of Italy, but the task is accompanied by so many difficulties, that I would willingly withdraw my pledge, were it not that an important blank would thus be left in my statements.

The many contradictions and misunderstandings on this subject arise, in my opinion, chiefly from an assumption that the same word denotes the same state of things in different places; whereas laws, usages, the quality of the soil, the object of cultivation, the degree of labour required, &c., operate in a multitude of ways to modify and change tenures designated by the same word. For instance, the word *mezzeria*, *mezzadria*, or *mezzajuolo*, seems to mark, with great precision, the position of the occupier of the land, and to show, with mathematical accuracy, that one half of the produce is to be his. We shall see, however, that this assumption is rarely found to be correct. The laws already occasion a great diversity. The Austrian law, for instance, troubles itself little about the peculiarities of the system of agriculture existing in Lombardy, and decides on most points according to the specified terms of a contract; but the codes of Parma and Piedmont pay great attention to the several provincial relations, and contain many enactments, the effect of which varies in different localities.

The Sardinian code decides in the following

manner with respect to lands let on halves or held *à métairie*, that is, on payment of half the produce:—

If the contract or lease be concluded for several years, and if, during that time, a harvest fail (one half at least being destroyed) in consequence of an unforeseen calamity, the farmer may demand a reduction in his rent, unless he has been indemnified by previous harvests; or the judge may authorize him to keep back a certain proportion of the rent, to be settled for at the termination of the lease, when the aggregate produce of all the harvests is calculated.

If the land be held only for a year, and the whole or half of the harvest be lost, a comparative reduction in the rent must be made. If the loss be less than one half of the crop, no reduction can be demanded. The farmer may, by the terms of his lease, take upon himself the responsibility of unforeseen calamities, but these include only natural occurrences, such as hail, frost, fire by lightning, &c., but not extraordinary visitation, as invasion of the enemy, &c., unless there be an express stipulation to that effect in the lease.

Where land is held without any written contract, the period of occupation is understood to last till the end of harvest-time; that is to say, for vineyards and meadows, for one year, and for arable

land till the usual succession of crops have been taken off. The straw, hay, and manure of the current year must be left on the premises by the farmer. If, at the commencement of his lease, he found a corresponding supply, he can demand no compensation for what he leaves behind, otherwise he may demand payment for it, according to a valuation.

Whoever takes a piece of land on lease, on condition of sharing the produce with the owner, is called a sharer, a halfling (*colon partiaire*, *mezzajuolo*). An accidental damage to the crop is the joint loss of the two parties to the contract, neither being entitled to any compensation. The *mezzajuolo* is not allowed to sell hay, straw, or manure, without the owner's permission. The death of the mezzajuolo dissolves the lease at the end of the current year; but his heirs may demand a continuation for another year, if the death occur within the four last months.

In the absence of any contract or established usage, the following regulations are enforced. The mezzajuolo provides the cattle necessary for the cultivation and manuring of the land, the winter fodder, and all agricultural implements. The amount of cattle kept must be in proportion to the extent and produce of the farm. The seed must be provided in equal proportions. The expenses

of cultivating the ground and gathering in the harvest must be borne by the mezzajuolo, as also the repair of inclosures, and the conveyance home of the owner's share of the produce. The mezzajuolo must not get in his harvest, thresh his corn, or gather in the vintage, without giving notice to his landlord. All natural or artificial produce of the land must be equally shared between them. The mezzajuolo is entitled to claim the necessary supply of wood for his vineyard and the use of his farm, as far as the plantations on the estate may be sufficient to meet his wants; but he must cut and prepare it himself, and account for the surplus.

The tenure of the mezzajuolo, in the absence of more precise stipulations, lasts for one year, beginning and ending on the 11th of November; but if neither party gives notice before the end of March another year is entered upon.

A simple cattle-sharing lease (*bail à cheptel simple*) is one by which a man undertakes to feed and look after a flock or herd, on condition of retaining one half of the increase. The increase is calculated partly according to the augmentation in number, partly according to the improvement of the animals in value. The milk, manure, and labour belong to the farmer. An agreement on the part of the latter to share in the loss as well as the

increase is null and void. A contract of this sort is generally assumed to be for three years.

Let us now see what the code of Parma enacts on the same subject. It is there stated that the *mezzadria* is a partnership between the farmer and his landlord, in which the latter contributes the land and the former his labour, on condition of sharing the produce. In the absence of any express stipulation, the landlord must provide the requisite cattle and their winter food, the farmer all the implements of agriculture. The seed is furnished by both in equal proportions, the farmer bearing the usual burdens and expenses of labour. He is obliged to give his assistance towards the effecting of permanent improvements, but may demand a compensation. The plants for new plantations must be furnished by the landlord, but the farmer is obliged to find the labour. The regulations respecting the repair of roads and inclosures, and those relative to the requisite notices to be given previously to the harvest or vintage, are nearly the same as in the Sardinian states. If the landlord furnishes the whole or half of the cattle, the farmer must not sell any part without permission. A landlord may stipulate for a higher rent than one half the produce, but must not impose such onerous conditions upon the farmer as would leave to the latter less than one-third. If

the landlord furnishes the cattle, the farmer has a right to not less than one-third of the profit arising from them; if the latter furnishes them, no lease is binding that leaves him less than two-thirds. The mezzajuolo must leave the straw and manure of the current year behind him.

In a cattle-sharing contract (*soccio o soccida*) it must not be stipulated that the farmer shall have to bear losses arising out of circumstances independent of his control; neither must he be required to take on himself a greater share in the loss than in the profit, nor must he be required, at the termination of his lease, to return a greater value than he received. All contracts to the contrary are null and void.

These variations between the laws of Sardinia and those of Parma may suffice to show the different point of view in which the same species of contract may be viewed in different parts of the country. One of these two codes assumes the farmer to have undertaken a multitude of onerous conditions; the other (justly apprehensive of exaggerated severity) declares certain stipulations altogether null and void. In this we may recognize the just conviction, that the legislator is bound not to allow the rights of private property to be carried to an unlimited extent; but that, on the contrary, it is sometimes his duty to guide it back

into the right path, and make it subservient to the interest and welfare of the community at large.

LETTER LI.

Various Opinions respecting the System of the Mezzadria.

Florence, June 2.

BURGER, in his instructive narrative of his travels, says, that the peasant or farmer in Italy pays in general no money to his landlord, but only a portion of the produce in kind. The draught-cattle and agricultural implements belong mostly to the farmer. Besides the payments in money and kind, a number of oppressive conditions are introduced into the lease, so much so that the majority of the tenants are worse off than the serfs in those parts of Germany where the system of serfage continues in force. The work of a common labourer is often better remunerated than that of the cultivators of the soil, who are forced to content themselves with mean dwellings and the coarsest raiment and food. An excessive population, and a system of legislation entirely favourable to the rich, are the main causes of these evils. Capital, courage, and opportunity are wanting to obtain better conditions elsewhere. Continual disputes with the landlord lead

to nothing, for an application to the tribunals is of no avail where the letter of the law, instead of affording redress, is directly hostile to the complainant.

Gioja, in his work on the statistics of the district of Oloro, (p. 50,) pronounces nearly the same opinion. The system of the *mezzadria*, he says, tends to make the farmer intent on overreaching his landlord. The *mezzajuolo* is apt to remain indolent, as he can only reap one half of the produce arising from any improvements he may make, and his tenure is always insecure, being scarcely ever on good terms with his landlord's steward. Without express permission, says the *Manuale dei Proprietarii*, the tenant must not underlet any part of the land he occupies. He has generally to sustain the whole of any damage that happens *after* the harvest has been got in. An abatement is not allowed unless more than half the produce be destroyed, and not then even, if it can be shown that this loss has been compensated by a series of more fortunate years.

Capitani, in his work on the agriculture of the Brianza, complains that leases are seldom committed to writing, and gives examples that certainly appear extremely severe upon the tenant. One half of the taxes and other burdens on the land falls to his share. The prices are always fixed at

the season of the year most profitable to the landlord. "I have a thousand times," says Capitani, in another place, "seen boys and girls, ten or twelve years old, performing the severest labours, and carrying loads far beyond their strength. This, no doubt, is the reason of the many stunted forms met with among the humble classes, and the progressive degeneracy of the race. The land is deserted by its owners; there is no interest shown in its improvement, no pattern for imitation, no kindly or Christian relations, &c. The properties of the smaller landholders are in a better condition. Those farmers who pay a money rent for land are seldom better off than the mezzajuolo. Early marriages, contracted merely to avoid the conscription, tend at the same time to increase the population, and aggravate the general wretchedness."

These opinions are balanced by others, (for instance, Chateauvieux and Martens,) who direct attention to the advantages of the system of *mezzadria*, such as the joint interest of the landlord and tenant, the self-adjusting proportion between rent and produce, the facility of making improvements by combining labour and capital, &c. In this way we have a progressive increase of praise, till we come to some Florentine writers, to whom the position of the mezzajuolo appears "the happiest that can be imagined, the mezzadria the most

admirable conception of human wisdom, and the whole system incomparably preferable to any other manner of turning landed property to account."

Now, ought I to decide between these conflicting opinions, adopting one view and rejecting the other? By no means! I am convinced, on the contrary, that these estimable writers were thinking of quite different things under one and the same name. This difference, which is marked enough even in Lombardy, becomes much more striking when Piedmont is compared with Tuscany. Even in Lombardy the land is not all held on the mezzadria tenure. There are large farms let for a money rent, smaller ones for a fixed rent in kind, others for one half, one-third, or two-thirds of the produce, to say nothing of landlords who cultivate their own land. The same man is often at the same time proprietor, and farms part of his land for money, and part for a rent paid in kind. The system that prevails among the mountains varies from that which reigns in the level country. Three-fourths of the land belong to the inhabitants of towns, or to religious and charitable institutions. Between the principal landlord and the cultivator there are often middle-men, who underlet the land, the proprietor thinking it better to have to do with only one substantial man, who gives him security, than with a number of small tenants. The latter, in the

end, have to bear the chief load; but, I repeat it, much depends on local usages. In one part of the country the landlord furnishes the seed, in another, the tenant, and in a third, each contributes one-half. Extraordinary burdens (repairing roads, &c.) fall heavily in one province and lightly in another. In some places the farmer has time left to add to his income by other means; in other parts the time and opportunity are both wanting. Here the soil may require much labour, there less; one locality may be more exposed to natural visitations than another. What a difference, for instance, between the holder of land that yields three-fold or ten-fold! The mechanical mathematical *half*, as I have already observed, is in general either too much or too little, and is never very accurately paid, there being often a multitude of accessory circumstances and stipulations which influence the relations between landlord and tenant.

In Lombardy, the situation of the mezzajuolo is least enviable. In Piedmont it is much better, owing to the advantage derived from the large common pasturages, and to the circumstance that the farmers are, for the most part, at the same time owners of small pieces of land. Of the state of things in Tuscany I will write to you on another occasion, even though at the hazard of repeating much of what I have already said.

LETTER LII.

Laws of the Duchy of Parma.

Florence, June 3.

In treating of the condition of the agricultural part of the population in the north of Italy, I have spoken of the laws of the duchy of Parma. The new codes are an imitation of those of France, but contain, at the same time, much that is peculiar to themselves.

Separation from bed and board follows upon adultery, malicious desertion, notorious profligacy, repeated ill-treatment, attempt at murder, or the protracted existence of an infectious disease.

A woman guilty of adultery is liable to imprisonment from three months to two years. Her accomplice is visited with the same penalty, besides having to pay a fine of from 100 to 1000 lire.

Hanging is the only capital punishment. Legal infamy attaches only to the person of the criminal. Conspiracies to change or destroy the form of government, or to excite citizens to take up arms, are punished with death.

All who have no fixed residence, and can show no regular means of obtaining a livelihood, are considered as vagabonds. A convicted vagabond is

punished with imprisonment from three to six months.

There being public institutions for the relief of the poor, beggars are punished with an imprisonment not exceeding six months, and afterwards sent to a workhouse. For a beggar in good health the minimum punishment is two months' imprisonment.

Associations for defined ends, if consisting of more than 20 members, require the authorization of government. All societies of which secrecy is one of the conditions are prohibited; the members are liable to imprisonment from six months to three years, and the funds of the society to confiscation.

Infanticide is punishable with death. If death ensue from a duel, the challenger is liable to imprisonment from ten to twenty years, the challenged from three to ten. Theft, in case of very aggravated circumstances, may be punished with death. All games of chance are prohibited, under penalty of imprisonment for not more than one year, and of a fine varying from 100 to 1000 lire.

Criminal trials take place in public, but without the intervention of a jury; the judges composing the court decide by an absolute majority of votes.

There are courts of arbitration; that of the

prætor, those of first and second instance, and the supreme court of revision.

The prætor may decide on many complaints respecting wages, damage done to corn, market quarrels, disputes between innkeepers and their guests, &c. If the matter in dispute do not exceed 100 lire in value, there is no appeal from his decision. The court of revision is not a mere court of cassation, but open to suitors for appeal, in case of the discovery of new documents, or in case those previously produced can be shown to be spurious, or if any new points can be brought forward, &c.

In case of bankruptcy, there is no classification of creditors, but each receives his share of the estate according to the proportion of his claim. A debtor who gives up his property or who is above seventy years of age is, in general, exempt from imprisonment.

LETTER LIII.

Passage to Leghorn—Pisa.

Pisa, May 25, 1839.

On the 22nd, about five o'clock, I went on board the steam-vessel Columbus, bound to Leghorn. The weather was fine when we put to sea, and I enjoyed the grand and rich prospects of the

Genoese territory astern of us. But by degrees the sky became overcast; the sun darted only an occasional ray through broken clouds, and the sirocco, which met us, blew not only stronger but colder as we proceeded.

At night, when I awoke, the doors were slamming, the lamp was rattling in its glass cover, the rain pouring in torrents upon the deck, and the whole vessel creaking, groaning, cracking, as though she would go to pieces every moment, or sink, like a vast coffin, in the sea. Ground enough for alarm or for thoughts of death: from weariness and indifference, however, these did not trouble me. At length, we reached Leghorn.

At dinner the table d'hôte was chiefly occupied by Frenchmen. After they had circumstantially developed both the theory and practice of a dissolute life, and adduced instances in evidence, they ascended higher, and talked of kings, saints, and popes, in precisely the same manner as they had talked of their prostitutes. Brilliant fireworks played off by minds viewing life only on its cheerful side, one may say; while a second is astonished at the superficiality of conception, and a third, filled with moral indignation at the corruptness of principle and sentiment, turns away in disgust. In me all these feelings rapidly succeeded one another, and I should have been mentally sea-sick had I

tarried any longer. I am already in central Italy, and yet every ragamuffin who cannot scrape together above three words of French addresses me in that language to do honour to me, but more especially to himself. The beginning of a deplorable slavery, which the French very naturally take pains to establish.

The ride from Leghorn to Pisa, through a level, well cultivated country, was agreeable. At the time when the range of hills that now raise their naked heads on one side were covered with wood, this country must have been doubly inviting to settlers. In the evening I strolled out by moonlight to the Cathedral, the Tower, the Baptisterium, and the Campo Santo. Profound silence and solitude; I heard not my own footfalls in the grass that has sprung up around. The former greatness of Venice is still perceptible in the centre of modern life and business; the Pisans, on the contrary, seem to have thrust out their monuments, that they might not have them always before their eyes to renew their mortification. Not Florence only, but Leghorn too, has raised itself above Pisa; but the latter only as a fortunate upstart. I was reminded of Fürth and Nürnberg, Altona and Hamburg.

I undertook to advocate the chivalrous view of the middle ages in opposition to the abstract constitutional, even with Mr. G——, in contradiction

to those who would fain transform a young queen into an automaton or a repeating watch. Such dry wood grows, such superannuated sceptre governs, no longer. Heads without hearts, and hearts without heads, never have a living constitution; they are fit subjects for anatomical collections alone.

LETTER LIV.

Pisa — Celebrated Buildings — Campo Santo — Journey to Florence.

Florence, May 27.

I DEVOTED several hours to the monuments of Pisa above-mentioned. The leaning tower has certainly sunk and was not purposely built out of the perpendicular; but, if it were upright, it would be inferior to the great towers of Germany. The cathedral is a very remarkable edifice, and still more so internally than externally. In the Baptisterium I admired anew the extraordinary genius of Nicola Pisano, who suddenly rose as a great master among so many bunglers. When I was about to enter the Campo Santo, I was followed by an old man, a peasant, with three daughters, who were by no means handsome, but looked very good-natured. My consequential guide admitted me only, and shut the door in the faces of those who were behind me.

On my asking the reason of this, he replied: "Such low people (*popolaccio*) ought to come on the public days."—"When are those days?"—"Five times a year."—"Are then these poor people to wait, or must they come on purpose?" (They were sixteen leagues from their home.)—"Yes, sir. —"Then I will wait too, and come again on one of the public days."—This had the desired effect, and the door was opened for the grateful party. My philanthropy, however, as I had no small change left, cost me of course somewhat more. A great deal has gone to ruin, but the Campo Santo still contains rich treasures, though Orgagna's fancies show little regard for the beautiful, and Benozzo's breadth and diversity claim the preference.

I would fain have made a longer stay in Pisa, but *fugit irreparabile tempus.* The diligence travelled at night: from close coaches one sees very little, and I wished to enjoy anew the prospects of the beautiful valley of the Arno. I therefore took an outside place, trusting to my waterproof cloak. But this did not suit the driver, and a gentleman, who was the only inside passenger, urgently requested me to bear him company, and converse with him. As I am not averse to society, and four large windows afforded every facility for viewing the country, I complied at length with his wish. In the course of the journey we were twice

transferred, with bag and baggage, to calèches, in which there was still less obstruction to the prospect. My English cloak, and more especially my fur shoes over my boots, were at first subjects for pleasantry to my fellow-traveller; in fact, however, the wind blew so unusually keen, that he was almost frozen; while I was not disturbed in the same manner in the contemplation of the rich scenery around. The weather, everybody says, is most extraordinary; it may be so, but—

I had soon a different kind of annoyance to encounter. My companion, a judge of first instance, and who had had a university education, mentioned, from old recollection, Horace, Cæsar, Cornelius Nepos, and others, and cheerfully answered the questions that I asked concerning the duties of his office. I behaved in the like manner towards him. By degrees, however, this bore, or *seccatore*, manifested an incredible propensity for questioning, so that never in my life have I been so closely examined as during those hours. At first I answered solidly and circumstantially, as one under examination ought to do, but by and by the answers became shorter and more uniform; for instance, "How often do the Protestants receive the Lord's Supper?" —"As often as they please."—"How often do they fast?"—"As often as they have no appetite." —"What do they eat?"—"Any thing they have."

—" What are they allowed to eat?"—" Whatever they relish." —" What do they relish?" — " Any thing that is well cooked."—These brief answers were gradually curtailed to Yes and No, and at length I ceased to reply. It was of no use: my companion kept questioning on, looking at me at the same time as though to read the answers in my looks. Let me give you a few genuine examples:

" Is not Prague the capital of Saxony?—What is the doctrine of the Lutherans?—Whose vassal is the king of Prussia?—How do you hold your lectures?—give me a few specimens—Does not the direct road from Berlin to Pisa run through Brussels?—How do you bring up your children?—Does not Sweden border on Prussia?—What salary have you, and what perquisites?—What language is spoken in Prussia?—How many original languages are there?—Is not leather the principal source of the revenue of Prussia?—Had Napoleon natural abilities?—What use could you make of me if I were to accompany you to Germany? (The silence interrupted) None whatever—What is *il sole* in German?—*Die Sonne* (the sun)—*La luna?* — *Der Mond* (the Moon)—Give me some longer specimens of German—*Heiliges Kreuz Donnerwetter, Schock Sch*—— ! ! * At this ejaculation,

* An imprecation which cannot be translated. The Hibernian " Blood and thunder!" comes nearer to it, perhaps, than any expression that we recollect.—TRANSLATOR.

emphatically uttered in the expressive Teutonic language, the man drew back disconcerted, and held his tongue, like a scared canary-bird—but only for a short time. He turned from me to the *vetturini*, and from these again to me. At times I was forced to guess a good deal; or can you perhaps tell me what he meant when he very frequently talked about *haza and hoza?*

In spite of this annoyance, I was much pleased with the road, the country, St. Miniato, the valley of the Arno, and all the richly cultivated hills around Florence. These scenes made the same pleasing impression upon me as in 1816 and in 1817, and I arrived at a truly harmonious temper of mind. My satisfaction was increased by your letters, and a walk late in the evening to the Arno, Maria Novella, the cathedral, the old palace, the works of Michael Angelo, John of Bologna, and Benvenuto Cellini, awakened thoughts and feelings of various kinds, till bodily fatigue obliged me to return home.

LETTER LV.

To L. Tieck.

Florence — Situation — Theatre — Niccolini — Processions — The Dowager Grand-Duchess—The Grand-Duke.

Florence, May 31.

This morning my first thought is of you, my dear friend, and I wish you from my heart health,

long life, and a serenity uninterrupted, save by those clouds which the poet needs and himself creates. In youth the birthday brings an order for the future; at our age it is a receipt for the past, or a settlement of account. I have certainly paid too much in paper, which falls in currency; you still owe a great deal. If you do not intend soon to redeem the Cevennes, why not give us your own memoirs and make yourself young again in them to our extreme gratification!

I am myself growing young, while calling up recollections and scenes of my tour in Italy in 1815-1817, and I feel upon the whole exactly as I did then; although the objects of activity and attention are somewhat changed.—I have now more need of the present, of living intercourse, and should be incapable of my former extensive paper studies. I am almost afraid of manuscripts, on account of my eyes, and know that the German dogma, that force and energy consist in the superabundance of minutiæ, is a superstition. But I am far from the presumption of Th—, who would teach and bring every thing to bear by his own wisdom, without thoroughly learning any thing himself.

Wherever I am, I adhere to my plan of making acquaintance with as many and as different Italians as possible; and this method will certainly produce

more and better fruit than when a number of English and Germans confine their intercourse to their own countrymen alone, instead of seeking to gain a knowledge of really foreign countries and people.

Now a few particulars. Thus far the Italian heat is not to be complained of; for though in Genoa and here the sun at certain times seemed so hot that I have been glad to put up the umbrella in my walks, still upon an average the thermometer is not higher than 14° (about 64° Fahrenheit), and this morning at half-past six it was 10° (54° Fahrenheit) in the shade. People predict approaching heat; but it seems to me that I shall be able to bear more of it without inconvenience than I could twenty-one or twenty-two years ago—perhaps of the *alcatico* too, which I have often thought of already, and especially to-day. As, however, I have been invited out every day till to-day, it did not depend on myself what sorts of wine to order; and, after doing my duty at dinner, I durst not undertake any work of supererogation. The beautiful days and the moonlight nights invited me to walks which gradually led me all round the city. In the Cascines, the same pleasing impressions as formerly. On one side, the still swiftly-flowing Arno; in the centre, tall beautiful trees with ivy climbing up them; then, on the right, richly clothed

meadows, then gardens, and lastly, the hills and mountains, with their villas, olive-trees, vines, and the manifold lines of their summits defined upon the sky. One must be a stock-fish not to be delighted with the cheerful and diversified scenery of Florence. It has not its name for nothing, and nature here has the character of the harmonious much more than the history of the people. I reserve what I have to say of the arts till another time: as yet I have again visited only the smaller part of their treasures.

On Monday, the 27th, was announced: "At the Pergola theatre, Moses and Pharaoh." Not a word more on the bill. I was not acquainted with the opera, found the pit not more than one-sixth full, and thirty or forty persons in the boxes. At the commencement of the overture, my eyes began to be opened: it was no other than Rossini's well known Moses in Egypt—*oratorio sacro*, says the libretto, by the *principe della musica italiana del nostro secolo.* The empty house, however, showed that other *dii minorum gentium* had already succeeded to the sovereignty. Of sacred music scarcely any trace; most of the melodies adapted to dances for human beings, dogs, and bears. Here and there an affectation of the sacred style, which soon changes to that of the profane opera. The Jews raised a prodigious outcry, at first about the oppres-

sion of the Hebrews, and next about the miracles of Moses, who looked exactly like a pair of nutcrackers. Singers, male and female, not worth notice, excepting, perhaps, Tadolini, one of the latter, who has a fine voice, and executed the Rossiniades in such a manner as to satisfy the admirers of those extravagances.

I had been told that Niccolini intends to write a history of the Hohenstaufen, in a Guelfish spirit, because mine is too Ghibelline. How gladly would I converse on this subject with those who understand the matter, and receive instruction!—but the Italians never think of learning German, and know my book at most from the title and by hearsay. Niccolini alone has taken up the affair more seriously, and had a translation made of those parts which interest him (particularly Manfred and Conradin)—which has cost him more than one hundred scudi. I begged him not to feast me with empty compliments, but to tell me frankly what appeared to him to be defective; but he persisted in his commendation, in a way that at least demonstrated a real interest in the matter. I further told him what many had suggested in regard to alterations, omissions, &c. against which, however, he advanced the same reasons that have always appeared weighty enough to decide me. At length he denied that the tendency of my work was too Ghibelline, and com-

mended its great impartiality. Perhaps he rather shares the notion of those who deem my style too cold and calm, and deficient in the higher inspiration, the θειον. But who can add a cubit to his stature? *Sesquipedalia verba* neither help a man forward, nor make him greater than he really is.

Yesterday was held the festival of Corpus Christi, with a procession that lasted an hour and a half—a review at once of ecclesiastical and temporal uniforms, a wearisome repetition, notwithstanding all its apparent diversity. I could not get, for the life of me, into a religious mood. Most persons felt just the same; but at last there was no attempt to produce such an impression. The liveliest part consisted of the innumerable boys, with their white night-caps and veils. They contrived to turn the pointed linen trunk to as many different uses as an elephant. Now and then there was kicking, cuffing, and thumping. The horrible singing or screaming, the ringing, the drumming, the trumpets, and small pipes, made such an infernal din that my head was quite distracted. It was still worse at the cross-streets, where three different kinds of music in three different modes were heard at once—the false chorusses of the clergy, the opera music of the infantry, and the trumpeting of the cavalry. Women here take no part in the procession, though they do in Turin; and the uncommonly numerous host of

clergy and monks reminded one of the standing armies of other countries. But the latter do, in case of emergency, much more for their earthly than the former for their heavenly country. The prevailing spirit of the Italians is now Ghibelline, because they conceive that the Guelfish divided and rendered Italy weak.

Yesterday, at noon, I was presented for the first time to the dowager grand-duchess, who is like her excellent brothers. The conversation turned—I can scarcely tell how—on sovereigns who have been distinguished by superior understanding and powers of mind; of course Elizabeth and Mary Stuart could not fail to be mentioned. The grand-duchess very justly maintained that the useful was not completely valid without the good, and that understanding alone cannot produce a perfect character. But all this trenches on everlasting questions that have never yet been fully solved; for instance, how far the really useful is always good, and the really good also useful?—How the understanding and disposition of the real sovereign form themselves; whether they must not form themselves otherwise in him than in the mere subject?—whether the measure of private right is sufficient to govern the actions of the king, or the measure of mere public right is sufficient for the subject?—How both can and ought to be reconciled, &c.

The grand-duchess conducted me to the grand-duke. He received me as graciously as the vice-roy Rainer in Milan. Of the grand-duke's activity, his desire to learn, his attainments, and the extreme benevolence of hisdisposition, there is but one opinion; and among the many sovereign posts that of grand-duke of Tuscany must be one of the best and happiest. Whether all about him possess minds lofty enough duly to second and to execute the noble intentions of the grand-duke, seems to be doubted. But it is fortunate that there is scarcely a sovereign in all Europe whose good and noble intentions can be denied; and if any of them chooses to say, (like ——) *Stat pro ratione voluntas*, he finds so many burdocks by the way that he is forced to turn back *nolens volens*. Heaven forbid that the great diseases in the east and west of Europe should seize the centre also, plunge the Roman nations into anarchy, the German into useless wars, and give time and opportunity to the Russians to penetrate further and further!

LETTER LVI.

REFLECTIONS ON ART AND WORKS OF ART, BY ONE OF THE UNINFORMED.

Trieste—Venice—Beauty—The Medicean Venus.

MANY people are happy in the belief that they know, if not every thing, at least a great deal. My

desire to reach the heights of humanity, whenever I have attempted to place or set myself down upon them by the force of a mere resolution, as Fichte expresses it, has, however, been uniformly disappointed. Such transcendental or transcendent resolution may have elevated others or added something to their height; I found myself, after a short contemplation, always on the very same spot, only more weary and more chagrined than before. As then philosophical abstraction failed to carry me further, I aspired to poetic inspiration, but grasped only at clouds, and gained nothing real for the better cultivation of my mind. After these seven-league boots for the happy chosen few were transformed for me into mere stilts that threw me down, I took, though reluctantly, the way which is open to all persons of ordinary capacity—that is to say, I set about learning. People found, however, that my progress was very small, and they added as a sort of courtier-like comfort, that there were many things which could not be learned at home in our Germany. In order, therefore, to make myself acquainted with the genuine social relations, liberty, constitution, and so forth, and to view them face to face, I travelled to Paris, was present at all the popular and ministerial tumults; saw kings set up and deposed, journalists turned into ministers, and poor men into rich; amidst incessant accompani-

ments to-day of unbounded vivats, to-morrow of pereats—high life above and below stairs. By all these things no light was diffused in my head; I found no Pentecost of new illumination, but only a *Da Capo* of the Babylonish confusion of tongues, and I ventured, on my return, to assert, that in France there is nothing to be learned about the above-mentioned matters. Rude people hereupon said—

> "A goose flew over the Rhine amain,
> A goose came flying back again."

The more polite remarked that I had mistaken my vocation—that I must go to Italy—that art was made for me, and I for art. I suffered myself to be the more easily persuaded, because I had by degrees conceived a real passion for learning, and had gained the conviction that none but the genuine scholar enjoys an everlasting youth. By means of this rejuvenescence, I regularly write my school-exercises of an uninformed person, such as I really am, and could prove by numberless witnesses who would swear to it, if any one should doubt that *character indelibilis*. I only claim that inalienable and now universally acknowledged right of man, to write down without apprehension or responsibility whatever comes into my head or to my pen.

TRIESTE.

Do not think of going to Trieste, said some one to me; it is an utter stranger to the arts. But if I

visit places where art is already dead, where it already occupies its *campo santo*, why not such where it is yet awaiting its birth? May it not be interesting and instructive to contemplate this youthful soil, this *terra vergine*, which, after long culture, may produce rich crops of art and science? Strive first, we are told, and with good reason, after the kingdom of God; after pictures and statues one cannot *first* strive; there is much previous labour to be performed, many foundations must be laid, before these flowers and fruits of mental cultivation can be obtained. I have just as little reason to blame the people of Trieste, because their city has not such treasures of art to boast as Venice, as to assume that in time to come their attention will be exclusively engrossed by the objects which are registered alphabetically in the custom-house tariff. It is to be hoped that to the possession of works of art, (for which individuals, for instance M. Sartori, have already made a promising beginning,) the production of them will speedily be added, and that on this point Trieste may deserve the reputation of greater activity. *Macte virtute esto.*

VENICE.

A stop has been put to the rapid decline of Venice in a material point of view; a spiritual resurrection must proceed from within. It will not

take place while people show, with vain self-complacency, the works of great predecessors, and excuse, nay justify, their own nullity by the force of external relations and impediments. Are, then, those impediments greater at this day than they were at the time of Attila, or of the war of Chioggia? Is there any absolute necessity that the modern Venetian painters should be so far behind those of the 16th century? The Venetians must pass through the purgatory of a great sorrow and bitter self-knowledge; otherwise—to say nothing of political greatness—they will not again arrive at real art, but stop at exhibitions of perishable performances, executed to relieve the momentary necessities of indigent people.

In Venice, said some one to me, you will learn what flesh is.—Of all visible things that God has created upon earth and set before our eyes, the human body is the first, the highest, the most beautiful. I will not say any ill of beasts, plants, hills, clouds, &c.; I will not depreciate them—but man remains the monarch of the creation. On that point, you will reply, all agree. No such thing—they talk of beauty, and they are frequently afraid of it. They fancy that they can seize it, and paint and admire caricatures and abortions. The sense for beauty is far more rare than that for morality, and yet what is higher than the combination of the

beautiful and the good! Why are many *bona fide* afraid of beauty? Because it appears to them only as something seductive. Why do many praise beauty? Because they view it through the glass of vulgar desire. The disinterested pleasure which Kant speaks of is to them incomprehensible, impossible.

The head of man is the fairest signature of his mind. The genuine contemplatist of art cannot confine himself to that, but must be capable of edifying himself with all the truly beautiful members, from the feet to the crown of the head. I say *edifying*—as in a revelation of God and his creative power. Thus it is that the great Venetian painters have considered and represented flesh—not in the ordinary sense of a *rehabilitation de la chair*, but as the medium by which the visible is connected with the invisible and spiritual. Whoever is not acquainted with this nature, this import of beauty, against him is closed the great portal to the holiest of holies.

The flesh, without the spirit, is dead, and decays in few hours; but when it is said that "the spirit, the word, the λογος, became flesh," therein lies not only the highest revelation, but also the highest theory and practice of all art.

Why is living beauty often without any prominent mind? Because it is not the work and possession of the individual, but a gift of God for all.

Why is mind often manifested in that which is destitute of beauty? To teach the beautiful humility, and to prove that the plain person possesses, through the qualities of mind, a far higher beauty than they who vainly carry it about in their own body. Why is that doctrine unsatisfactory which finds beauty merely in what is characteristic? Because it would convert the revelation of God into something that is purely personal.

THE MEDICEAN VENUS.

The Tribune of Florence is indeed a sanctuary of the most diverse productions of art. But for me, uninformed admirer of the unadorned human body, this perfect figure eclipses at the first glance all the rest, and I always return to it as to the most natural standard, the purest harmony, the noblest object, without other aim or accessory. Regardless of puritanical contradiction, I take the greatest delight in that foot—such as shoed ladies, who never dare take off their stockings, cannot show—in that ancle, in that elegant yet finely-rounded calf, in short in every individual part, as well as in the appearance of the whole. Is then this contemplation, is this delight, a sin? Is not Kotzebue not only a great fool, but also a real sinner, when he asserts that the ladies' maids of Berlin are more beautiful than the Medicean Venus? Setting aside th

striking absurdity of this assertion, it may, fairly interpreted, lead to the inquiry concerning the relation of the living to the work of art. The decided advantage of the former consists in this, that it lives; the decided advantage of the latter in this, that it never grows older or dies. It makes a vivid and profound impression, after the lapse of years, (under the weight of which one has one's self grown gray) to find these works of art in unchanged youth, and, as proofs of immortality, more weighty than many other proofs that are called philosophical. Nowhere is the creative power inspired by God, the power of creating in imitation of Him, so clearly and so wonderfully manifested as in the genuine work of art. And again, those works of art which represent the human body continue for all times the most interesting, the most living, the most intelligible. The Venus and the Apollo stand nearer to the present (in spite of the tailor-apparatus put on as a defence against cold and to hide deformity) than the tragedies of Sophocles and the legislation of Solon. Is this a superiority, or does it denote a bodily *ne plus ultra*, while the regeneration of the spiritual always conducts farther?

Considerations of this kind, it is true, lead from the immediate enjoyment of beauty, and to Kotzebueades of the following kind. Venus is a goddess. Why? The little Cupids by her side might be

given as attendants to any handsome female, and further symbols and distinctions are wanting. I recognize Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, by other things, nay by their heads alone. The head of Venus displays very beautiful, regular forms, but otherwise says little, and the expression is almost negative. Not a trace of love, enthusiasm, excitement, encouragement, repulsion. But, precisely because the head does not constitute the Venus, she showed herself quite naked to Paris, while the other goddesses thought that the sight of their heads alone ought to be quite sufficient for the competent judge. Venus is the goddess of general corporeal beauty, therefore the importance of the individual part must give way.

But if Venus is the goddess of general corporeal beauty, why does this Medicean Venus wish to hide any part of herself? Diana was in earnest when she metamorphosed Actæon, a lover of art or beauty; but what means Venus by this attitude? I discover neither dignity, nor anger, nor shame, in the common acceptation of the word. Is she looking between her fingers, and does she wish the spectator to do the same? As for the Neapolitan Venus (or whoever else the beautiful female may be,) I know what she is looking at, and what she wishes to show in preference, and the spectator follows the direction; but what is the object of the

Medicean with the turn of the head and this sort of *digito monstrarier?* Perhaps one might, without useless reflection, reply: The artist needed an attitude in which the arms should form finely-curved lines; of course he could neither fold them together, nor let them hang down, nor lay them upon the body (which was to be entirely visible,) nor throw one arm back. It evinces somewhat deeper thought to say: The intention was to display two natures, the divine and the human. The total absence of shame would, at best, but have shown the divine superiority, and, badly treated, would have degenerated into immodesty. A more decided expression of alarm would have shown merely the human element, and have rendered beauty entirely subordinate to a moral reflection.

In this manner one may reason or gossip a great deal about this Venus; but I will return to real innocence and look at that.

LETTER LVII.

Right of Inheritance.

Florence, June 3rd.

I had been conversing with a lawyer about the right of inheritance of the married women of this

country, and asked Madame H— her opinion. She had more reason to find fault with the laws here, than the Prussian women with those of their country. In Tuscany, daughters are excluded by law from the inheritance; they receive only a certain share, and a dowry is usually assigned to them. Such as are unmarried must be kept at home by their brothers, and hence frequently arises no small discomfort. In case of a separation, the allowance never exceeds that fixed by custom. At the time of the French, sons and daughters had equal shares; but after their expulsion the old arrangements again received the force of law; and if the condition of females is at all improved, it is because the trusts and reversions of past times have mostly lost their efficacy. But precisely because this is the case, and feudal services, and the rights of the nobility, or of primogeniture, are now out of the question, because women have every where advanced to another position, that partial right of inheritance appears as a relic of other times, unsuited to the present, and which has maintained its ground through arbitrary predilection, not for any satisfactory reasons. If one would act consistently, one would set it aside entirely, as well as many other usages connected with it.

LETTER LVIII.

Catholicism—English and French—Politics and Conversation.

Florence, June 4th.

Every day has in Italy its peculiarities of seeing, hearing, learning: for this reason I cannot comprehend how people can put any one unpleasant circumstance that may occur into the scale by itself. As a proof, here is an account of the way in which yesterday was spent.

Dined at the house of the Marchese ——, with ——. Three sensible persons must talk sensibly; and thus the conversation turned alternately upon Florence and foreign countries, the present and the past, and I heard much that I shall treasure up in my memory or commit to writing. The Protestants, said——, are frequently more reasonable in regard to the pope and the church than the Catholics, at least the Italians. We are near both, and acquainted with things as they really are. A few simpletons only imagine that the omnipotence of the ancient Catholic ecclesiastical authority can return—I remarked how disgust of political experimenting produces in many a disposition or hope to found liberty or obedience on ecclesiastical soil. We were unanimous in this, that the entire doctrines of Protestantism, and the entire doctrines of Catho-

licism, are adopted and followed but by very few; that in fact feeling and conviction modify both, and give them a new form, both with the world in general, and with every thinking individual. We farther agreed that the due medium is the right, the positive; but that out of mere negations neither is the due medium to be found, nor can in this way anything be founded or built up. On this subject the ministerial proceedings in Paris, (in which not a single grand, interesting, positive idea was brought forward), furnished instructive examples and proofs.

Conversing in this manner, we drove to the house of Madame D—, a clever French lady, to whom those gentlemen wished to introduce me. With an agreeable person, she displayed at once the easy vivacity of the French women.

Without putting out of her arms the infant that she was nursing, she got at once, I scarcely know how, into the *centre de la politique*, and pronounced a warm panegyric on Mons. T—. There was, in particular, an article of his in the Constitutionnel against the king, marked by a *profondeur des pensées* and a *simplicité d' expression* not to be surpassed. My companions said nothing, and a few modest remarks on my part only served to fan the flame of political enthusiasm. I felt as if a bottle of champagne, excited to the utmost, was about to

burst; nevertheless, I restrained myself, and said not another word, so that the torrent of Parisian eloquence rolled along without obstruction. Madame——then inquired after Hallam, and could not comprehend how it happened that he was neither a member of parliament nor desired that distinction. I observed that the English did not consider science without political consequence as contemptible, or that every scholar was called to assist in legislating. The conversation then turned upon the English women. Madame—— said that they were insipid, without expression; at best *beautés jardinières*, large hands, large feet, fat, clumsy, *à l' allemande*, no breeding or social polish. If I had done violence to myself thus far and held my tongue, I now gave full scope to my eloquence; and my speech, like my previous silence, was in direct opposition to the French lady. So also was the assertion that the talent for conversation and the display of *esprit* is by no means the one thing needful either for man or women. Madame——, however, displayed this very talent in not taking amiss any thing that was said. She promised when we next met to attack the French-women, and I to defend them.

A walk along the Arno concluded the day or the evening. Venus shone so brightly as to form a luminous stripe upon the water; and, after a sound

night's rest, I wrote down the history of that day, before commencing the labours of this.

At the police-office I was asked: "How old are you?" When I had answered, "Fifty-eight years," I became seriously alarmed, and thought; "You ought to be at home, and to lay yourself up on the shelf."

LETTER LIX.

Florence, Ju e 6th.

REFLECTIONS ON ART, BY ONE OF THE UNINFORMED.

FIRST CONTINUATION.

VENUS DE MEDICI, ONCE MORE, AND FOR EVER!

WHEN the very beautiful Mademoiselle von Glafei, afterwards Madame von Saldern, chanced once in company to ascend a bank or a hillock and a number of admirers collected around her, one of them proposed that she should make a speech to them from that eminence. A question arose respecting the choice of the subject, on which another said; "Take yourself for your theme, and make a speech on beauty." I have several times proposed the same thing to the goddess; but she is silent, and so I cannot help, though not gifted with eloquence, to allow once more full scope to my tongue.

Whoever knows the Medicean Venus from plaster casts alone does not half know her, so undefined, tame, clumsy, does every thing appear in comparison with the original. It is as though one were to judge of Titian and Correggio from engravings.

But why is every naked female called a Venus? Perhaps to denote the difference, the opposition? κατ' ἀντίφρασιν. Even the Berlin ladies' maids, if subjected to this Kotzebueish fire-ordeal, or rather air-bath, would not meet with any elevation of their condition, but humiliation and scorn. As unclothing in most persons only exposes imperfection and deformity, legislators themselves have presented it as a disgrace and punishment; and morality has less to do with human clothing, than aversion to what is not beautiful, which denotes the commencement of a better taste, till certain ultras discover perversity and degeneracy in the aspect, nay, in the very existence, of the beautiful, and strive to destroy it.

The ideas of the true, the beautiful, the good, are of such infinite extent and such extreme interest that we need not wonder if admirers of the one or the other place that one exclusively on the throne, and forget that the rightful authority belongs to the whole trinity. Such extravagant votaries of the true place the ugly on an equality with the beautiful, because in one respect, (and in one

only), a certain truth cannot be denied to the former. Similar admirers of the good find in the exaltation of the beautiful an injustice towards the good, and an unrighteous elevation of the visible above the invisible. On this soil of one-sided errors spring up, all at once, naturalists, puritans, iconoclasts, modern French poets—if not something worse—perverted unitarians.

I have once more minutely examined the crouching Venus in the gallery here. She is surprised, and wishes in earnest to hide herself; but the more the modesty of the maiden is here displayed, the more the goddess who may and is meant to reveal beauty is kept out of sight.

Why is there no god of beauty? Because in him, (or at least in the man,) beauty is never all-sufficient, never is, and exhausts the whole, but something more, something indicative of qualities and character, an aim, a direction, an activity, ought to be apparent. Apollo is no more the god of beauty, than Diana is the goddess of it: their inmost nature grows on a totally different soil. Adonis and Antinous have never raised themselves from their effeminate existence to the godlike, the former was never of equal condition with Venus.

I have endeavoured in former reflections to furnish satisfactory proof that Juno does not strip, and why; and the day before yesterday I found in the

workshop of Bartolini, a sculptor of this city, a reclining Juno, who is lifting a veil in order to show herself perfectly naked. A beautiful woman; nevertheless, the impression left upon me was, that she was doing this almost out of spite, or as much as to say: *Anch'io sono bella!* But it is not *de son metier*, not her province, as it is that of Venus. Then, too, she must dress herself again, or get herself dressed, which Venus has no occasion to do. Perhaps it is for this reason that she is married to Vulcan, who, as the Princess Borghese said, always has *la chambre bien chauffée*.

THE SENSE OF SMELL.

For the senses of the eye and the ear, grand theories have been constructed; taste and feeling have, from their smaller domain, attempted conquests on all sides, and planted colonies; the sense of smell alone has been universally neglected, and not deemed worthy of notice or cultivation. People have at most inquired and ascertained whether and in what manner smells are wholesome or injurious to the body. This scarcely leads to physiology, certainly not so far as psychology and æsthetics: nay, considered from that point of view, it would appear that God had to be sure created the nose, (for blowing and snuff-taking); but that smell was a matter of no consequence, and perhaps the person who has no smell is better off than the one who has.

To these reflections I am led by Florence. In this repository of art, this elegant, clean, beautifully paved city, flow from every wall numberless streams, which may compare with Acheron and Phlegeton, with Cocytus and Styx, and all the rivers of hell, which throw a damp upon higher thoughts and feelings, and drive to despair every one whose olfactory nerves are not utterly destroyed. Incessant attention is moreover requisite to avoid stepping into these impure waters, and bringing home with one more than is homœopathically necessary to infect the air. It is boasted of as a great improvement that not a swine is now allowed to be killed by the few butchers in the city; but this universal swinishness is tolerated; people are accustomed, are become indifferent, to it. God mend it!

Adam Müller once planned an æsthetic of smell, but got no further than his former doctrine of opposition. A smell and an anti-smell, (perhaps the Florentine,)—this abstract scheme is not sufficient to settle the business. So long as many people are fond of the taste and smell of high game, strong sea-fish, rotten cheese, tar, horseradish, garlic, &c., delicate females on the contrary detest the scent of roses—the first elements for constructing an æsthetic of smell are wanting. Caprice and Babylonish anarchy must reign in this world, till some great legislator for the nose shall arise, in whom mankind

shall believe, or to whom a patent shall be granted for his new classification and valuation. Perhaps Florence is called to this, either from desperation, or according to the adage, *per aspera ad astra.* Has not the great Neptune in the Duke's Place been taught to behave himself with extraordinary modesty and decorum; and why not the many little Florentines, who have no prescriptive right to this method of watering the streets?

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS ON FLORENCE.

The Florence of the middle ages, and the Florence since the sixteenth century, are essentially different, notwithstanding all the threads that run through both. More fortunate than many an Italian republic, it has found its way from an Æschylean youth, to a Xenophontish harmony of riper years. This harmonious measure, this activity without morbid exaggeration, this grace without superficialness, this content without indifference, I find (right or wrong,) in Florence, in Tuscany; and it seems to me, (unless irresistible storms should rage there,) to afford the pledge of a long and happy life.

In some of the yet remaining tower-like houses is manifested the character of the earlier history of Florence, and not less in the city walls. Florence would gain very much in beauty if these were taken

down, and views opened on all sides. The passion prevailing here for enclosing each property with lofty walls, so annoying to the spectator, is likewise rooted in the earlier ages, which afforded less security or felt less admiration for nature—or, as others think, did not worship her so idolatrously. This latter opinion I disclaim, and place myself on the side of those, who, at Ratisbon, Leipzig, Breslau, Dresden, &c., have manifested a taste and a relish for the beauties of nature.

The contrast between the former violent frenzy and the moderation of the present time appears most glaring in the works of art in the Grand-duke's Place. Hercules slaying Cacus, by Bandinelli; the Rape of the Sabines, by John of Bologna; Perseus with the dissevered head and body of Medusa, by Benvenuto Cellini; Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes, by Donatello; Michael Angelo's David (who might just as well be called Goliath,) harbouring similar intentions—of course, nothing but blood and murder; so that Neptune, instead of fiercely leading the way as a heathen god with his *quos ego*, stands timidly by, and with good-natured countenance watches all the scandal. The witticism launched at Blucher's statue, "I have not room up here by myself," would apply still better to Perseus and Judith, with the two twisted carcases. Perseus is, in comparison

with the superior statues of antiquity, but a coarse fellow, as Cellini himself was; and all these throat-cuttings, headless trunks, streams of blood in bronze, &c., appear to me unsuccessful attempts, in spite of all the art employed in their execution. Even the beautiful hemmed-in Sabine woman, making such vehement exertions up in the air, I would rather see upon the solid ground in a more favourable position for the display of that beauty.

It is well that my paper is at an end, or this portion of the heresies of one of the uninformed would extend to too great a length. Perhaps you will decline this treat for the future.

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